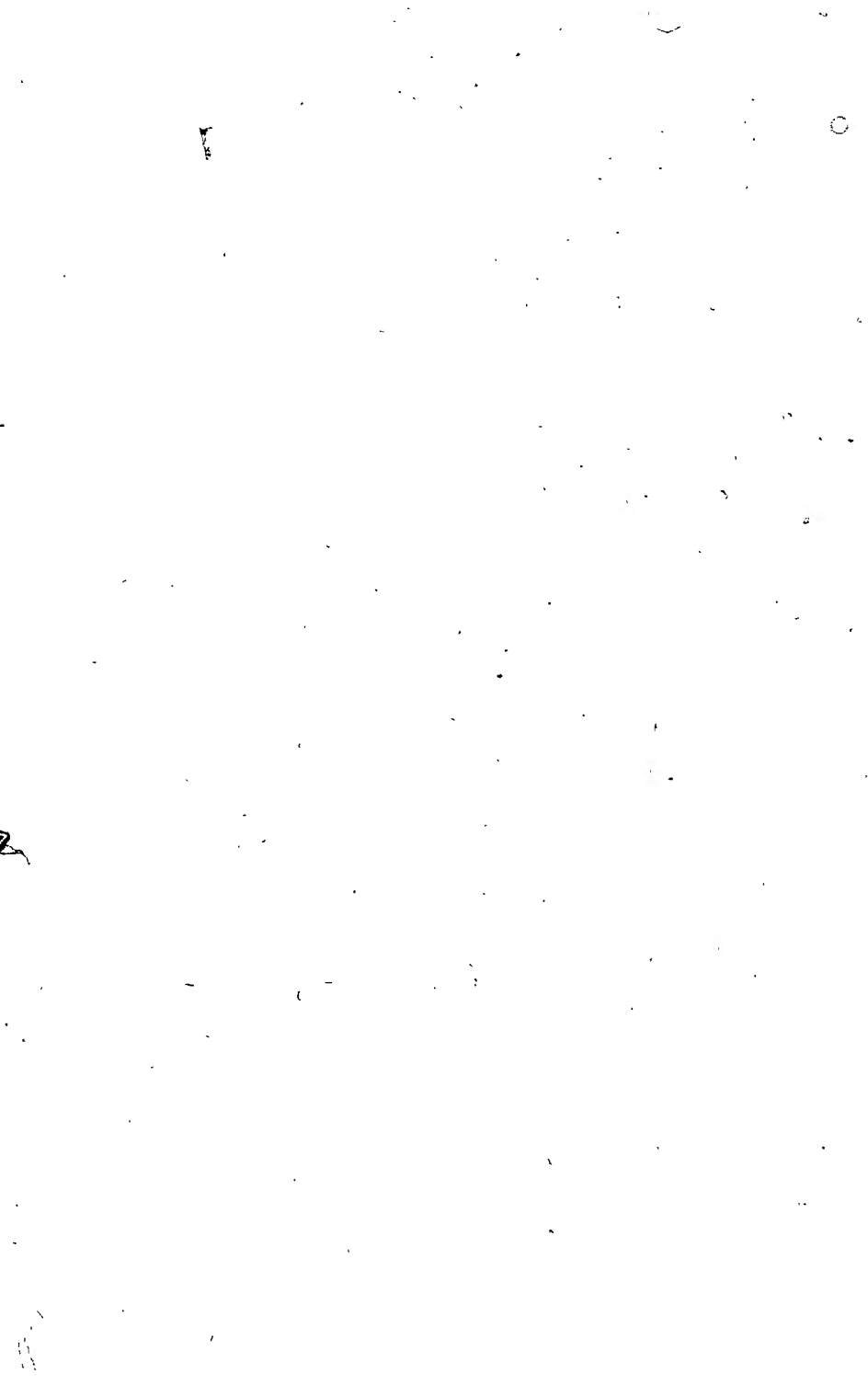


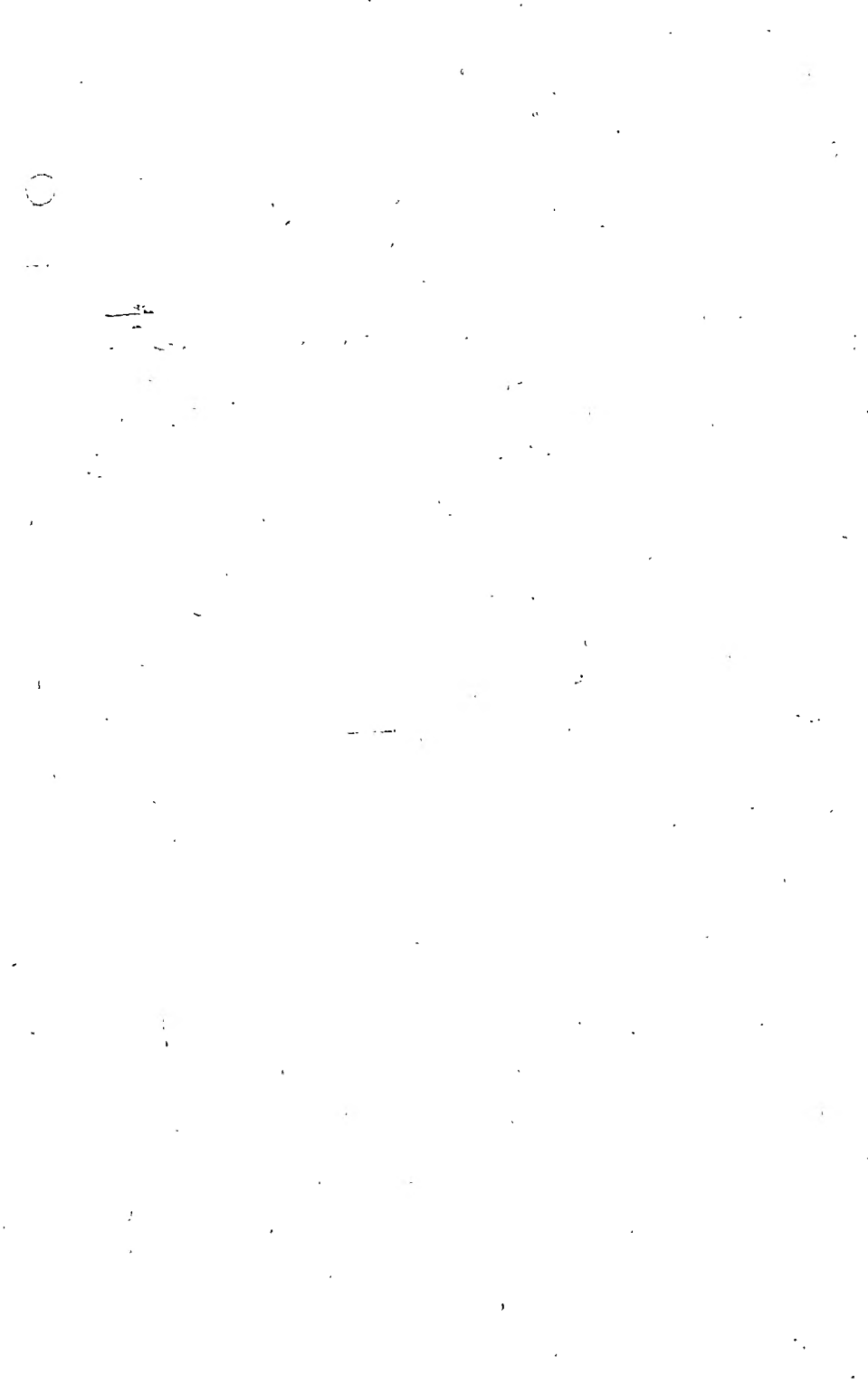


Mr. Lamiotte, Putnam



## CORRIGENDA

- P. 16, par. 2, add Nicolas Perrot.
- P. 40, par. 2, read "slaying".
- P. 73, par. 5, read "a relative" instead of "a nephew".
- P. 74, par. 3, line 1, read 1872 instead of 1875; line 7, read "leading the military escort", instead of "member of the expedition".
- P. 81, par. 2, *Note*: This surrender was made by Government appointed chiefs who were not recognized by the free bands of Tetons.
- P. 86, par. 1, *Note*: Sub-Inspector C. E. Denny, N.W.M.P. reports that early in 1876 the Teton Sioux had sent messengers to Chief Crowfoot asking him to join with the Sioux in a war against the Crow Indians and the Americans. Crowfoot asked Denny for assistance of the N.W.M.P. This was promised to him and he remained loyal to the Crown. The messengers had even threatened that the Sioux would invade Canada and fight the Blackfeet if Crowfoot did not join them.
- P. 87, par. 4, *Note*: Walsh went to Wood Mountain to see the refugees on Dec. 21, 1876.
- P. 91, par. 4, line 5: delete "tall".
- P. 92, par. 5: read "Lt. Colonel J. F. Macleod, officer commanding the N.W.M.P. at Wood Mountain", instead of "Commissioner McLeod"; and below: "Macleod" instead of "McLeod".
- P. 94, par. 4, *Note*: Sitting-Bull visited Crowfoot in the winter of 1878. The Sioux chief's attitude was friendly, but Crowfoot advised him to remain at a distance from the Blackfeet.
- P. 98, par. 4: read "of the N.W.M.P.", instead of "of the U.S. Army".
- P. 99, par. 3: read "Alan Macdonald", instead of "Allan McLeod".
- P. 102, line 8: delete "hold".
- P. 106, par. 3: read "Standing Rock, S.Dak." instead of "Fort Peck, Montana".
- P. 116, par. 2, line 2: read: "Aug. 9, 1909" instead of "1907".



THE SIOUX INDIANS  
in  
CANADA

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REV. GONTRAN LAVIOLETTE, O.M.I.

LAVIOLETTE, G.

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# Canada

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GONTRAN LAVIOLETTE, O.M.I.

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Affectionately  
dedicated  
TO MY MOTHER

Wana waniyetu wikcemna Dakota mayuhapi  
qa ob iyokipiyan kodawicawaye heon mis wowapi  
kin de ecawicawecon.

Abdo-wapuskiya-hoksina.



## Acknowledgements

The writer is deeply indebted to the Saskatchewan Historical Society for the assistance afforded him in the preparation of this work, especially for the substantial grant which made its publication possible, and for the constant encouragement received from Mr. Z. M. Hamilton, secretary of the Society, throughout its progress.

He is also desirous of expressing his gratitude for the facilities extended to him in consulting the Public Archives of Canada, the Records of the Indian Affairs Branch in Ottawa, the Legislative Libraries in Winnipeg and Regina, and the archives of the Saskatchewan Historical Society in Regina.

Rev. Gontran Laviolette, O.M.I.

Lebret, Sask.,

April 7th, 1944.



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## FOREWORD

The story of the Sioux Indians who settled in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, subsequent to clashes with the United States authorities in 1862 and again in 1876, has been ably written by the Rev. Father Lavolette, O.M.I., and will undoubtedly be received with pleasure by all who are interested in the early history of our Western Provinces.

Father Lavolette is indeed qualified to undertake this work. For the past ten years he has been Catholic missionary to the Sioux Indians in Canada. He is thoroughly conversant with the three dialects of the Sioux language spoken in the Dominion. He knows these Indians personally, and is well acquainted with their manners and customs, modes of thought and outlook on life. Coming in contact so much with the Sioux, he became deeply interested in their history. Long years of study and inquiry have given him a wealth of information on the subject. Now, under the pressure of his friends, he has agreed to make this information available to the public in book form.

During my long years of service as an official of the Department of Indian Affairs, I have visited all the Reserves allotted to the Sioux in Canada. It was my custom to call at each individual home. This intimate association has given me an insight into the character of our Sioux Indians.

I have no hesitation in saying that, since taking up residence in Canada, these Indians, as a people, have been good settlers—moral, law-abiding and loyal to the British Crown. They have kept, to a great extent, their individuality, language and customs; they have not been assimilated, in any appreciable degree, with the neighbouring tribes.

From my experience with the Canadian Sioux, I find it difficult to visualize them as the cruel and blood-thirsty people which some historians have pictured them to be. Their exemplary conduct, during over eighty years in the Dominion, entirely disproves the views of these historians. History shows that even a peaceful and law-abiding people can be goaded into reprisals when subjected to continuous exploitation and injustice.

The Saskatchewan Historical Society is to be congratulated on having enabled Father Laviolette to publish this work, and I join in paying tribute to him for his valuable and informative contribution to the records of the history of the Western Indians in Canada.

WILLIAM MURISON,

Vancouver, B.C.  
April 8, 1944.

(Former Inspector of  
Indian Agencies).

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this book is to fill in what heretofore has been a hiatus in the history of the Canadian Northwest. It will deal with the movements of the Sioux Indians into Canada, first, after the Minnesota outbreak of 1862, and secondly, after the Custer battle in 1876.

It will endeavour to elucidate the reasons why the Sioux Indians sought sanctuary in British territory. It will follow the Sioux Indians through the vicissitudes of the wars which they waged against all the power and might of the United States of America. In spite of the ill-feelings aroused by atrocities that are inevitable in frontier warfare, conviction has grown during recent years that the Sioux were fighting for what they considered their rights, guaranteed to them by solemn treaty, the terms of which had been repeatedly violated.

History, while not condoning the outrages committed by the Sioux Indians during the Minnesota outbreak and the Teton wars of independence, is recognizing the injustices that provoked the Indians to break into open warfare and to commit dreadful acts of violence.

The Santee Sioux were loyal to the British Crown during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Today, a century and a half later, they still possess and prize numerous medals of King George III, awarded them in recognition of their services. Because of the loyalty they then showed, the Sioux were convinced that if they ever needed protection they would find it on British soil. And so, when they had been ruthlessly driven from their ancestral lands, they turned northwards, seeking a haven in the territories of Queen Victoria, the grand-daughter of George III.

After long wanderings in the Canadian Northwest, the Sioux Indians received assistance, protection and help from the Canadian Government, and they have now become permanent residents in our Western provinces. While the Sioux Indians have not been granted the Treaty rights accorded to the Indians native to Canada, they have received certain privileges and advantages. They are the only non-

treaty Indians in Canada; and they have repaid their debt of gratitude by remaining ever law-abiding, peaceful, and practically self-supporting.

Owing to the far frontiers occupied by the Sioux Indians and the distance from the seats of organized Government, few records have been kept of their activities in British territory. In compiling this work, every authentic source of information has been probed; official records at Ottawa and Washington have been searched; a great number of books have been studied and checked with contemporary publications; Indian traditions have been examined both in Canada and in the United States. The tale of the Custer battle as told by its survivors never varies, whether the narrator comes from Pine Ridge Reservation on the Nebraska boundary, from Standing-Rock in North Dakota, or from Wood Mountain in Canada; it has a quality of authenticity that is striking.

The standard works of reference on the history of Western Canada practically ignore the history of the Sioux in Canada, and what they do say about them is frequently incorrect. For instance, in "Canada and Its Provinces", after a brief mention of the Sioux in Manitoba, D. C. Scott speaks of "a progressive band" established at Fort Qu'Appelle as being part of Sitting-Bull's followers: whereas the truth is that the Qu'Appelle Valley Sioux are Sissetons and came to Canada in 1864 under the leadership of Standing Buffalo; while Sitting-Bull's followers were Teton, whose descendants now live at Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan. The "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada", by Father Morice, O.M.I., contains the same error. D. Jenness, in his "Indians of Canada", a splendid book, unfortunately dismisses the Sioux in a few lines, saying that they are all descendants of Sitting-Bull's warriors. As a matter of fact, out of eight reservations set apart for the Sioux, there are seven reserves inhabited by the Santee and Sisseton from Minnesota, with a total population of over nine hundred and fifty individuals; while the Sitting-Bull Teton Sioux, who number merely a hundred souls, are located only in the Wood Mountain country near the Montana boundary.

The inexorable march of civilization mercilessly engulfed and destroyed the ancient life and immemorial customs and traditions of the Sioux Indians. The bloody drama of the

Minnesota outbreak was the climax of the long struggle of the Eastern Sioux to retain their freedom.

Against the great expansion movement of nineteenth century American history, which continuously pushed the frontiers westward and menaced the treaty rights of the Indians, the Teton Sioux, under very capable leadership, fought a desperate struggle, culminating in the destruction of General Custer's command at the Little Big Horn, in 1876.

The Sioux Indians who fled to the "Land of the White Mother" in the last century, found there a safe refuge. Their descendants, however, are not merely isolated from their United States relatives, but are almost unknown in their adopted country.

It is hoped that this modest work will create a better understanding of and greater sympathy for our Canadian Sioux.

It is regrettable that owing to circumstances this narrative must be confined to an almost bare recital of the historical facts.

The bibliography contained in this volume will supplement to a certain extent the inevitable brevity of this description of a dramatic period in the history of the Sioux Indians.



## CHAPTER I.

### THE SIOUX INDIANS

The date of the arrival of the Indians on the North American continent is now practically certain. The archaeological relics found to date, viz., polished stone utensils, tools, hammers, etc., indicate that they arrived during the latter part of the Glacial Period, in the Stone Age.

The commonly accepted theory concerning the coming of the Indians to this continent is that they crossed the Bering Strait from Asia in successive waves of immigration. Ascending the Yukon river, they presumably crossed the divide of the upper Mackenzie and then passed down through the prairies, ever pushing southwards.<sup>1</sup>

According to Hrdlicka,<sup>2</sup> the Siouan Indians were among the first to enter America. Apparently they found their way to the southern sections of the United States many centuries ago. In a later period they divided into two main groups: the Eastern, now extinct, and the Western. The latter was a vast and powerful group of tribes which ruled the Mississippi valley for many centuries.

Hailing from the vast grassy plains of Turkestan and Siberia, the Sioux present, along with many North American Indians, the dominant features of the Mongols.<sup>3</sup>

From the time of their migration to America, until the advent of the white man, little progress was made in cultural attainments and in social advancement.

The word "Sioux" is a general term denoting the tribes of Siouan stock. It is an abbreviation of the French term "Nadouessieux", which is itself a corruption of the Ojibway word "Nadowessiw" (snake-like), an epithet expressive of hatred and contempt. Gallatin employs the word "Sioux" to designate the nations which speak the Sioux languages. In colloquial and press usage the term is applied most often to the Dakota confederacy: the most northerly of the Siouan tribes.



Preeminently plains Indians, ranging from Lake Michigan to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Arkansas to the Saskatchewan rivers, the Sioux were typical hunters and warriors. They were grouped in nomad tribes, led by the chase and driven by battle from place to place over vast Western prairies.

The Siouan tribes are divided as follows:

- (a) Dakota-Assiniboine, comprising the confederacy of the Seven-Council-Fires (Oceti-sakowin), and the Assiniboine dissident group (separated from the Dakota in the 17th Century). Both speak the Dakota language.
- (b) Omaha, Ponka, Kwapa, Osage and Kansa, who all speak the Cegiha language.
- (c) Iowa, Oto and Missouri, who speak the Tciwere language.
- (d) Winnebago (or Hotcangara).
- (e) Mandans.
- (f) Hidatsa: comprising the Gros-Ventre (Minitari) and the Crows (Absaroka). These are not to be confused with the Algonquian tribes of the same names.
- (g) Biloxi, (in Louisiana).
- (h) Six other eastern tribes, now extinct, a few Catawbias excepted.

### The Dakotas

The Dakotas are divided in three main groups, according to the dialect they speak.

These are:

- (a) The SANTEES, who speak Dakota; ~~they are subdivided~~ in two councils:
  - the Lower Council: Mdewakantonwan (Spirit-Lake-Dwellers) and Wahpekute (Leaf-Shooters);
  - the Upper Council: the Sissitonwan (Wild Rice-Dwellers) and Wahpetonwan (Leaf-Dwellers).

These two councils were under different chiefs. For purposes of clarity we will call the Lower Council Dakotas:

the "Santees" (as they style themselves); the Upper Council will retain their proper appellation, namely: Sisseton-Wahpeton. (There is a slight difference in their respective dialects.)

(b) The YANKTONS, who speak Nakota; they are subdivided into:

(1) Ihanktonwan (many of whom intermarried with the Sissetons);

(2) Yanktonnai—subdivided into: Pabaksa (Cut-Head), Wazikute (Pine Shooters), Kiyuksa (Breakers-of-their-own-law), Hunkpatidan (Dwell-at-entrance). The Assiniboines are an offshoot of the Wazikute. (The Dakotas call them Hohe—rebels—an evidence of the fact that the Assiniboines seceded from the Dakotas and became their enemies.)

(3) Ihanktonwanna.

(The general meaning of these three names is: End-Dwellers.)

(c) The TETONS (Tetonwan—Prairie-Dwellers), who speak Lakota. This is a very large and powerful group, divided into seven councils:

(1) Sicangu—(Brule)—(Burnt-Thigh).

(2) Itazipco—(Sans-Arcs)—(Without-Bows).

(3) Minikonju (Plant-by-Water).

(4) Oohe-Nonpa (Two-Kettle).

(5) Sihasapa (Blackfeet) [not to be confused with Algonquian Blackfeet].

(6) Oglala (Scatters-One's-Own).

(7) Hunkpapa (Dwells-at-Entrance).

The Santee Sioux formerly occupied the northeastern part of Iowa, the western border of Wisconsin, the southwestern half of Minnesota and the eastern part of the old Dakota Territory; a vast, fertile land over which the buffalo roamed in great herds, with undulating plains, spotted with groves and woodlands, where the deer found hiding places; with countless lakes and streams abounding with fish; with marshes swarming with myriads of ducks, geese, swans, and rivers alive with the otter, mink and beaver.

The Yanktons lived to the south and to the west of the Santees, mainly in what is now eastern South Dakota, north-eastern Nebraska, and part of Iowa.

The Tetons dwelt principally in the western half of South Dakota; the Black Hills were sacred ground to them from times immemorial; they hunted the buffalo to the west, into what is now Wyoming and Montana, to the south into the present State of Nebraska, and to the north far into British territory.

From north to south the location of the seven Teton tribes was as follows: 1. Blackfeet, 2. Hunkpapa, 3. Minikonju, 4. Two-Kettle, 5. Sans-Arcs, 6. Brules, 7. Oglala.

The Teton territory was different from that of the Santees and Yanktons in that it was much more level prairie, very dry in parts, and consequently poorer in game and wild life. There was no fishing done except along the Missouri. The buffalo were the greatest, and indeed, almost the only source of subsistence. Some smaller animals were trapped along the rivers. The Tetons had great numbers of horses and were splendid riders.

The Tetons are considered by many historians as the best specimens of Indian manhood and are also noted for their spirited and independent attitude. They were practically the last United States tribe to accept the treaties, possibly because they lived further west, and also because the buffalo lasted longer in their country.

The word "Dakota" means "ally", (from Koda—friend). The Sioux bands were united in a confederacy called: "Oceti-Sakowin", i.e. Seven-Council-Fires. Such political organization as existed among the Siouan tribes, may be termed a "kinship state"; the governmental functions were performed by men whose offices were determined by kinship. The legislative, executive and judicative functions were not differentiated. The males were divided into three classes: the chiefs, the soldiers, and the young men. The chiefs were religious and civil leaders; the soldiers, called "akicita", were servants of the chiefs. The assembly was composed of chiefs alone, who also were leaders in time of war.

The chiefs were of comparatively little importance among the Indians, nor did they in dress and mode of living differ from the other tribesmen. Previous to the coming of the whites, the man who was bravest in war was chief.

A chief cannot act unless the whole council is willing. The civil chiefs have been created by the whites, and have very little authority over their tribesmen. There has never been, at any time, among the Dakota Sioux, a single chief who had authority over the whole Dakota nation.

The Mdewakantonwans, for instance were divided into seven bands, each with its own chief. Thus in 1853, Sakpedan (Little Six) was chief of a village of some forty lodges called "Tintatonwans". Other Mdewakantonwan villages or camps were:

- the Oyatesica, under Tacankuwaste (Good Road);
- the Heyataotonwe, under Mahpiyawicasta (Sky Man);
- the Magayutesni, under Mazahota (Grey Iron);
- the Kaposia, under Taoyateduta (His Red People, also called Little Crow);
- the Hemnican, (also called Red Wings);
- the Kiyuksa, under Wakute (Bounding-Wing).

Each of these chiefs had from 30 to 60 warriors in his band; and the villages numbered between 150 and 400 souls. Whenever a treaty was signed, the signature of all the chiefs was required, as no single chief could sign for any other band but his own.

The vigorous avocations of the chase and war were reflected in fine stature, broad and deep chests, strong and lean limbs. In coloring of the skin, facial features and other somatological characteristics, the Dakotas did not differ greatly from the neighbouring aborigines.

The language and symbols of the Dakotas as well as their industrial and esthetic arts were in a class by themselves, and show the great difference between the Siouan and the other stocks on the American continent. Their institutions and their mythology were on a level with those of the Algonquian stock.

It would take a special treatise to describe adequately their arts, religion and social organization.\* Their mode of life in the middle of the nineteenth century is wonderfully described in Parkman's "Oregon Trail", and in W. Irvine's "Astoria". These give a truer picture of their virtues and vices, customs and occupations, than the romantic and imaginary descriptions of arm-chair adventurers.

Hennepin, Carver, Nicolet, Long, Schoolcraft, Cass, Fremont, Marryat, and other travellers, visited the Sioux. The great painter, Catlin, portrayed their prominent chiefs; Schiller and Longfellow immortalized them in their poems.

The sacred Pipestone Quarry, of which Hiawatha sings, was the traditional "holy of holies" of the Sioux tribes.

- 1 The physiography of the two continents favours a migration eastwards to America, corresponding to the movement of Pleistocene animals; naturally man could have followed on the same path. (See Jenness, D., "Indians of Canada", p. 233-249. National Museum of Can., Anth. Series No. 15, Bull. 65.)
- 2 Hrdlicka, A.: "The Origin and Antiquity of the American Indian"; Ann. Rep. Board of Regents of the Smith. Inst., 1923, p. 493 (Washington, 1925). Quoted in Jenness, D., "Indians of Canada", p. 246.
- 3 Robinson, D., "History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians", p. 17, writes:

"Comparative study of the language of the Dakotas presents the most satisfactory conclusions of the Asiatic origin. In 1886 Professor Frederick L. O. Rhoerig came out to Fort Wadsworth (Sisseton) and spent some time in comparing the Dakota with the Mongolian dialects, and found some striking likenesses. These most nearly resemble the dialects of the Ural-Altaic tribes. Professor Rhoerig does not argue that he has established such relationship, but has found evidence which strongly suggests it.

"A few of the points of resemblance established by Professor Rhoerig are given: Grammatically, the structure of the sentence in the Dakota and the Mongolian is the same, being a complete inversion of the order in which we are accustomed to think, beginning their sentences where we end ours. Likewise in neither the Dakota nor the Mongolian are there any prepositions, that convenient part of speech being used invariably as a post-position. In both languages there is a peculiar polysyllabic and polysynthetic tendency, by which, through an intricate blending of various parts of speech one huge word is produced.

"Probably the most striking resemblance, however, is in the reduplication of the initial syllable to add intensity to the thought expressed by it. Here are examples in point:

Mongolian—Khara, black; kap-khara, very black.

Dakota—Sapa, black; sap-sapa, very black.

"Another peculiarity is the changing of the form of a word from the masculine to the feminine, or to discriminate between strength and weakness, or distance and proximity, by changing the vowel without changing the consonant framework of the word, thus:

Mongolian—Ama, father; eme, mother; kaka, cock; keke, hen.

Dakota—Hepan, second son; hapan, second daughter;  
cinksi, son; cunksi, daughter.

"There is, too, a distinct resemblance in very many words having the same meaning. This resemblance is quite as close as could be expected to be preserved in an unwritten language through a long period of time by members of the same stock in situations far remote from each other and without means of communication. A couple of examples of this resemblance:

Mongolian—Tang, light (dawn, understanding).

Dakota—Tanin, visible (manifest, clear).

Mongolian—MeMe, the female breast.

Dakota—MaMa, the female breast.

"These examples will indicate the strong resemblance and are really the strongest evidences anywhere found of the possible stock from which the Dakotas sprung.

"There are many points of physical resemblance between the Dakotas and the Mongolians of the Ural-Altaic tribes, which adds something to the force of Professor Rhoerig's suggestion of relationship."

- 4 See: McGee, W. J.: "The Siouan Indians", in 15th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1897).
- 5 See: Dorsey, J. O.: "A Study of Siouan Cults". In 11th Ann. Report, Bureau of Ethnol., Smith. Inst., pp. 353-553, (Washington, 1893). Also the bibliography given in the Appendix.

## CHAPTER II.

### CONTACTS WITH THE FRENCH AND BRITISH COLONIES.

This chapter covers a period of nearly two hundred years, during which the Sioux made contact with the explorers from French Canada, and later, during the last century, with British traders.

Previous to 1640 there is no historical evidence as to the movements of the Dakotas. It was only when the Spanish horses moved northward over the Llano Estacado and spread across the great western plain, that the Sioux found a new means of hunting the bison, with the results that existence became much less precarious for them, and they increased and multiplied despite inter-tribal strife and diseases contracted from the white man.

Previous to that period, the Santees dwelt in more or less permanent villages. They hunted and trapped and cultivated maize and tobacco. Their habitat was an undefined area lying between the Great Lakes and the Missouri River. They travelled by canoe and on foot, using dogs to carry their camping gear.

The Tetons lived on the plains further west. It is known that they were in possession of the Black Hills, which they wrested from the Crow Indians, long before the advent of the white man.

#### Jesuit Missionaries

One of the first historical references to the Dakotas is found in the "Relations" of the Jesuit Missionaries of New France. In October, 1641, Fathers Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, having visited Sault-Ste-Marie, heard of a tribe called "Nadawessi" (Ojibway name for the Sioux), who dwelt "eighteen days" journey to the west, beyond the "Great Lake" (Lake Superior). They were a "war-like tribe, with fixed abodes, and of an unknown race and language."

In 1659, two French fur traders wintered at the Sault, and on their return to Canada, in the summer of 1660, gave a glowing account of "the powerful nation who dwelt beyond the Great Lake". The Jesuits dispatched Father Rene Menard to establish a mission at the "Great Lake". In August, 1661, Father Menard was lost in the forest, while making a portage. He was never seen again. Long afterwards, his breviary and cassock were reported to be preserved as medicine charms "among an Indian nation called the Nadawessi."

### **Radisson and Groseillers**

In the year 1659, the Dakotas were at war with the Crees and the Ojibways. In that same year the powerful Iroquois nation was also at war with the Sioux.

Radisson wintered among the Sioux in the country of the upper Mississippi, in 1659. Two years later, Groseillers and Radisson wintered in a fort built on Chequamegon Bay. In the spring, when they were near starvation, the Sioux brought them supplies. The French explorers subsequently spent six weeks in the land of the Sioux (Mille-Lacs area in Minnesota). They estimated the population at seven thousand. These Indians wrested a miserable existence from the soil. In winter, however, they went trapping and hunting north of the Minnesota river, and they had the finest beaver pelts on the market.

### **Wars with Canadian Indians**

In 1662, the Sioux nation signed a peace treaty with the French, who insisted that the Sioux should also make peace with the Crees. But the Ojibways always resented the encroachments of the Dakotas on their hunting grounds. A few years later, in 1665, at a grand council of the Ojibways held to discuss the question of a war with the Sioux, a Jesuit Missionary, Father Allouez, successor to Father Menard, succeeded in influencing them to decide in favour of peace. Father Allouez reported that, at the very extremity of the Great Lake, he met "the wild, impassioned warriors of the 'Nadawessi', who dwelt to the west, on the banks of the great river 'Messipi', on a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts, instead of bark, for roofs on their cabins."



In 1670, on account of further troubles with the Sioux, the French retired from the Upper Lakes region. The Sioux were very proficient in the art of war and pillage. They began to establish themselves as a greatly feared and cruel band of warriors who ruled the western plains. It is probably in that time that the Seven Councils of the Dakotas came into existence. In July, 1695, Piere LeSueur, who had a trading post in Minnesota, went to Montreal, accompanied by a Sioux chief, whom he presented to Governor Frontenac.

By 1732 the Ojibways had stopped the advance of the Sioux towards the north. However, the Sioux continued to send out marauding parties.

In 1736 they attacked a party of French explorers, killing LaVerendrye's son, Father Aulneau de la Touche, S.J., and nineteen members of the party in the Lake-of-the-Woods area.

It is to be noted that in their warfare with the Ojibways the Sioux were almost invariably defeated when they ventured into the woods of the north, while they were always victorious when their enemies descended into the open prairies. The valley of the Red Lake River was one of the "war roads" of the Sioux and the Ojibways.

Notwithstanding the traditional claims of the Santee-Sioux to the effect that the lands north and east of the present Canadian boundary was their hunting ground, there is no evidence that they ever claimed any rights in the land of the Ojibways.

In 1743, a deputation of the Sioux came to Quebec, for the purpose of requesting the French fur companies to resume trade with them; apparently they met with little success.

In 1746, De Lusignan visited the Sioux country, and on his return four chiefs accompanied him to Montreal.

Four years later, four chiefs came again to Quebec and asked that a commandant be sent to Fort Beauharnois in the interest of fur trading, but this request was not granted.

This is the last recorded event in connection with French rule in what is now Canada.

## Western Canada under British Rule

In 1763, New France was ceded to the British Crown by the Treaty of Paris. By this treaty all the claims of France to the country east of the Mississippi River were abandoned.

With the advent of British rule, one of the first problems to be dealt with was the Indian question. Shortly after the conquest of New France, most of the British troops were withdrawn, leaving all the Western Indians under the influence of the French fur traders, who were still wandering through the West. A great Ottawa Indian chieftain, Pontiac, organized a confederacy to block the British advance into the Mississippi Valley. The Indians were finally beaten back and peace was restored by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768).

There is no evidence that the Sioux Indians took any part, either for or against the British, in the Pontiac war.

Fur trading with the Indians was resumed within one year of the capitulation of Montreal.

The first indication of trade relations between the Sioux and the new British Colony is contained in a story thus related in Doane Robinson's "History of the Sioux Indians":

"Within a few years of the cession of Canada to the British, a trader had quarreled with a Dakota called Ixatape, and the Indian shot the trader. This led to the withdrawal of the trade with the Dakotas, who by this time had come to depend greatly on it, and a hard winter coming on, they suffered extreme hardship.

"On the opening of spring, the Dakotas held a council and determined to take the guilty Ixatape to Quebec and turn him over to the authorities. Accordingly a party of a hundred, headed by Wapashaw, started by way of the Wisconsin river; but before they reached Green Bay almost every one, including the prisoner, had deserted. Wapashaw and five companions kept on their way, and when they arrived at Quebec, Wapashaw, with a heroism rarely equalled, offered himself as a vicarious sacrifice for his tribe in lieu of the escaped prisoner.

"His generosity impressed the English and they gave him every consideration. He gave them a clear under-

standing of the organization of the Dakota tribes and subdivision into seven bands, and they gave him a medal for each of the bands.

"It was by this time winter, and they remained at Quebec until spring; they were attacked by smallpox, and only Wapashaw survived. He had been successful in restoring the trade with his people.

"Wapashaw was loyal to the English throughout the Revolution, and rendered effective service on the frontier in protecting trade; after the treaty of peace and the cession of the Northwest to the Colonies, the English still held possession of the country, and the Dakotas continued to give allegiance to the English."

The Sioux have a tradition to the effect that some time before the year 1800, a large party of about 300 lodges travelled eastwards to the shores of the sea and were given by the British seven canoe loads of supplies, and a number of medals of King George III.

It is most likely that the Sioux received these medals at a general council held at Montreal, on August 17, 1778. The Sioux, Sauk, Fox, Menominee, Winnebago, Ottawa, Potawatomi and Chippewa Indians were represented. Medals were given to the chiefs and head men in recognition for the assistance they gave British troops during the Kentucky and Illinois campaigns, during the American Revolution. General Haldimand, commander-in-chief of the British troops in Canada, presented the medals to the Indians.

According to unanimous tradition, the Sioux chiefs who received the British medals were: Wapahasa (Red-bonnet), of the Mdewakantonwans; Wankanto (Blue-above), of the Wahpekutes; Inyangmani (Runs-walking), of the Wahpetons; Wakinyanduta (Red-thunder), of the Sissetons; Waanatan (Charges-at), of the Yanktonnais; Wamanza [Wakmanheza?] (Maize), of the Yanktons; Tawahukezanonpa (His-two-lances), of the Tetons.

The Sioux head men who also received medals were: Wambdihotonmani (Eagle-cries-walks), of the Wahpetons; Hupaduta (Redwing), of the Sissetons; Tacante (His heart),

of the Wahpetons; Hintonkasanwakan (Holy-weasel), of the Mdewakantonwans.

We find very few records on the contacts of the Sioux with the white traders towards the end of the eighteenth century. The Santees (Wapahasa, or Wapashaw; was a Santee), traded mostly at Mackinaw; also at Prairie-du-Chien.

The Tetons still traded with the French, who had crept up from Louisiana, and who had established two or three trading posts on the Missouri River.

In the year 1811 the famed Astoria Expedition passed through what is now South Dakota, going up the Missouri and crossing the northern section of the Black Hills, on its way to the Pacific Coast. During this period the St. Louis traders of Missouri were operating among the Teton Sioux, but the War of 1812, between England and the United States, ruined the fur market and, in consequence, trading with the Lakotas (Tetons Sioux) was abandoned.

On the other hand, all the Mississippi Sioux had cast in their fortunes with England. Lisa's policy was to excite hostility between the Missouri Sioux and their Eastern neighbours and "give them so much to do to attend to their own affairs that they would have little time to give to England's interests, and he succeeded so well that but little assistance was rendered to England by their Western Allies."

This is the only instance on record of any dealings of the Teton Sioux with the British. Previous to the Louisiana Purchase, the Lakotas had been dealing mostly with French traders who had come from the South. Apparently very few British traders ventured down into the country of the Tetons.

## The War of 1812

The War of 1812, between the Americans and the English, destroyed the fur trade of the Dakotas. While all the Mississippi Sioux (Yankton and Santee) cast in their lot with England, the Missouri Sioux (Tetons) remained loyal to the United States, through the efforts of a special Indian agent, Manuel Lisa, who excited them to hostilities against their brothers.

Some Yanktonnais, under Waanatan, and also twenty-one Sissetons from Big Stone Lake, joined the English army

and went east, and engaged in the battle before Fort Meigs. Waanatan achieved a great reputation during this campaign; he was made a captain, taken to England, and presented to the King.

During the British American War of 1812, the Santee and Yankton Sioux were trading with the old French frontiersmen, as well as with the more recently arrived Scotch traders. The latter were entirely British in their allegiance and sought to keep the Sioux away from American influence. At that time Little-Crow, chief of the Mdewakantonwan (Santee) was a vigorous leader in the campaign against the Ojibways. He had enlisted with the British in the War of 1812.

The way the Sioux chiefs were dealt with by the British is clearly illustrated by Robert Dickson's activities. Robert Dickson was given a commission by the Government of Canada as Western Agent of the Indian Department. Heaping presents upon the Indians, he soon had them all favourable to the British cause. He even established a special tie with them by marrying the sister of a chief of the Cut-Head Yanktonai, Red-Thunder (Wakinyanduta).

At this time the American plan was to establish stores where the Indians could get goods at cost price. This would mean, of course, the ruin of the "free traders" and for this reason the latter opposed the Americanization of the Indian country and were tireless in their efforts to unite all the Indians in common cause with the English against the Americans.

Dickson secured his volunteers mostly among the Mdewakantonwan bands of Little-Crow and Wapasha, grandson of the Wapashaw who went to Quebec.

Dickson distributed flags and medals among them.<sup>3</sup> It is said that during the War of 1812, the Sioux captured a small cannon from the Americans, and had presented it to the British. The British named it Little-Dakota, and promised that, if the Sioux were ever in trouble and wanted help, they would bring this cannon to them, with men to operate it.

### **United States Sovereignty Acknowledged**

Previous to the purchase (1803) of Louisiana, which comprised North Central United States, including Iowa, Min-

nesota, Dakota Territory and other States, the Sioux were technically under French jurisdiction.

The Sioux did not seem to realize that at the time of the War of 1812, they were in American territory. As far as they were concerned they were still in their own land, and they were not aware of the political divisions of their country, or of boundary lines. To this day, the Sioux refugees in Canada make a claim of continued allegiance to the Crown on the grounds of the help they had given the British during the War of 1812. This gives an important explanation of their tendency to flee to Canada after the Massacres of 1862.

When the war was over, a council of the Dakotas finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, and most of the medals and flags distributed by Robert Dickson were delivered up to Lieutenant Pike. Peace was made in 1815, and American traders regained the ground they had lost. A treaty with the Sioux was signed at the Portage-des-Sioux near St. Louis, on July 19, 1815, by which these Indians agreed to resume friendly relations with the United States and to acknowledge only the President as their Great Father.

In 1825, a convention was entered into at Prairie-du-Chien by which the Dakotas and the United States authorities agreed that every act of hostility previously committed by either of the contracting parties should mutually be forgiven, and that perpetual peace and amity should thereafter exist between them.

### **Incursions of the Dakotas into the Red River Colony**

The Dakotas had not forgiven their hereditary enemies, the Ojibways, also called Saukteux by the French settlers, and fought them incessantly. They even carried their guerilla warfare across the Canadian border.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the Sioux raided the Red river colony on many occasions. In 1821, the settlers sent a petition to the King for troops, to protect them against the marauders. In one parish alone, settlers had been slain by the Dakotas on four different occasions during the year 1822.<sup>4</sup>

A Metis girl of sixteen, Margaret Trottier, was travelling with her husband from Fort Qu'Appelle to Fort Garry. The brigade was attacked by the Sioux in the Qu'Appelle Valley and most of the voyageurs were scalped and mutilated. Margaret was also scalped and seriously wounded, but fortunately she recovered from this terrible ordeal.

Around 1840, a band of Sioux hunters or warriors attacked an Assiniboin camp at the west end of the Moose Mountain. The Assiniboin warriors, who happened to be absent at the time, returned as soon as they heard of the attack but arrived at the camp too late. Many women and children were killed. The Sioux fled.

On many occasions the Red River Colony was visited by the Sioux, who wanted to satisfy their curiosity and love of adventure. Expecting handsome presents, they were not hostile. It is related that, in 1834, a party of thirty-six Sioux warriors under "Terre-qui-Brule" was attacked by the Saulteux, but fortunately the Sioux were escorted out of the colony by the Metis without any bloodshed. Two years later a larger party of two hundred and fifty warriors made a peaceful visit to Fort Garry.

The Sioux were prevented from fighting the Saulteux inside the Canadian boundary, on many occasions, by the Red River Metis. Between 1840 and 1844 particularly, the Sioux were very troublesome, but the combined efforts of the Metis and Saulteux usually succeeded in repulsing attacks by the Sioux marauding parties.

During a visit, on August 31, 1844, to the Roman Catholic Cathedral at St. Boniface, the Sioux were peacefully gazing at the building. The Saulteux Indians were mixing with them in a friendly manner, when a Saulteux Indian shot at a Sioux. The Sioux returned the shot, killing one of their own men, and wounding a Saulteux Indian. In the confusion that followed, the Sioux sought refuge in Fort Garry. It was found upon investigation, that the Saulteux who had killed the Sioux, had done so to avenge one of his brothers who had been killed the year before."

In the fall of 1844, another friendly party of Sioux visited the Red River settlement, and after a short stay, returned to their camp in safety.

Through the efforts of Cuthbert Grant, a make-shift peace was agreed upon by the Dakotas and the Saulteux. The Sioux pleaded for peace and asked forgiveness for their past depredations. After an exchange of letters between the Sioux chiefs and the Saulteux chiefs who were holding council in White Bear's lodge, Cuthbert Grant, on December 8, 1844, finally ratified this peace. For a short while after this agreement the Metis and Saulteux were able to hunt on the plains without interference from the Sioux.\*

This peace had no permanent effects. Apparently the Teton Sioux, who were located further west, had no part in the peace negotiations.

Father Lafleche reported in 1850 that two Sioux stumbled into a camp of Saulteux he was visiting. Father Lafleche saved the Sioux from being slaughtered and had to escort them personally six miles away from the camp before the Saulteux would refrain from killing them.

On numerous occasions the Tetons came across the boundary line, on their hunting expeditions; but the Saulteux showed them no more mercy than they did to the pillaging Santees.

Once a few Tetons fell into the hands of a large party of Saulteux, near the Coteau-des-Prairies. It was too late for them to flee, so they decided to adopt a friendly attitude. One of the Sioux spoke Saulteux. He was questioned and betrayed himself by his accent. Five of the Sioux were shot and killed immediately, and two others were killed in flight. It is reported that their bodies were scalped and mutilated.

On July 7, 1851, a group of Metis, nearly eighty strong, was travelling towards the Grand-Coteau, when their scouts saw a large camp of Indians. Three scouts were soon captured but the other two fled back, reporting at least six hundred lodges of Sioux. The Metis quickly entrenched themselves behind their carts and were attacked by the Sioux.

Father LaFleche, who was accompanying them, feared a terrible massacre of his people and exhorted them to put their trust in God. The Sioux advanced and one of them tried to get within the circle formed by the Metis camp. He was



immediately shot down, and Father LaFleche relates that he recognized him as one of the two whose lives he had saved on a previous occasion.

A terrible attack followed, but it was unsuccessful. The Sioux could not break into the Metis camp. In the evening they finally retired, taking with them their dead and wounded.

This stubborn resistance made a deep impression on the Sioux, who from then on seemed to fear Metis who could defend themselves with such great courage and ability in the face of greater odds.<sup>7</sup>

These forays of the Sioux into Canadian territory were very numerous, but they consisted mostly of small parties bent on pillage. But the raids were so often repeated that the population of the Red River colony, both white and Metis, lived in constant dread of the Dakotas. It is true that the Metis hunters often ventured to hunt on enemy territory at their own risk; they even carried their trade as far south as the Missouri river. Guns, ammunition, alcohol, and other goods were eagerly sought by the Dakotas and were supplied to them by the Red River Metis. (These Metis were called by the Dakotas "Slota" or Greasy-People.)

Around the year 1850, Cuthbert Grant was appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company as warden of the plains. Grant organized a corps of Metis to withstand the constant incursions of the Sioux, and was successful in preventing the Sioux from entering Canada. The greatest victory was gained over the Sioux in 1853, when a hunting party of eighty Metis for two days fought and finally dispersed two thousand Sioux in a battle on the Grand Coteau of the Missouri.<sup>8</sup>

As late as 1860 a large but peaceful incursion of Sioux visited Fort Garry.<sup>9</sup>

The Dakotas had acquired by this time a good knowledge of the Canadian territory, and of the situation of Canadian forts and trading-posts.

This knowledge was to be of great use to them in the troubled times that were soon to arise in their own country.

#### War Roads of the Sioux

"... a portage path between the Little Saskatchewan or Dauphin River, and the War-path River, which forms the war-road of the Ojibways and

Swampys of Lake Winnipeg when they proceed on their periodical excursions against the Sioux. This war road was much used in the earlier history of the natives of the Low Country, but on account of the great diminution in their numbers, which has taken place during the present century, war is no longer a pursuit or pastime with them, as with the Lac-la-Pluie Ojibways and the Sioux.

"The selection of certain tracts of country for the 'war-path' is probably determined by the facilities presented for communication and concealment combined. The following are celebrated 'war-paths', where hunting is generally disallowed, although game from that circumstance is usually most abundant.

"(1) 'The War-path River' and war road of the Lac-la-Pluie Ojibways, and the Sioux, from Rainy River to Red Lake River, thence across the prairies in the Valley of Red Lake River to Miniwakan or Devil's Lake, in Dakota Territory.

"(2) 'War-path River', from the south-west corner of the Lake of the Woods to Roseau River, thence to the prairies west of Red River—the same tribes.

"(3) 'War-path River', from Lake Winnipeg to the Little Saskatchewan, thence to the prairies south of Manitoba Lake—the old war-path of the Swampy Crees, the Assiniboines and Sioux, also of the Swampy Crees and the Lake Winnipeg Ojibways.

"(4) The 'War-road', near the elbow of the South branch of the Saskatchewan, on the flanks of the Grand Coteau, of the Blackfeet and Plain Crees.

"(5) The 'War-road' of the Sioux, Blackfeet and Crows, in the valley of the Yellowstone."

Hind's "Narrative of The Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858." Vol. II, page 28.

- 2 "During the American Revolution, 1775—1783, it was naturally expedient on the part of the British to enlist the assistance of the Indian tribes, whose adhesion to their cause could exert a strong influence on the outcome of this war. Medals were therefore struck in some profusion and entrusted to envoys to convey the friendly word to the tribes.

"Obv. GEORGIUS III DEI GRATIA. Youthful bust of George III to the right, in armour and wearing the sash of the Garter, the hair in a double curl over the ear. Six rivets are shown in the front of the breast-plate, five above the sash and one below. Rev. Royal Arms and supporters in high relief, the quartering of the Arms showing England impaling Scotland in the first, France in the second, Ireland in the third and Hanover in the fourth. Surrounded by the legend HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE. The paw of the lion touching the 'N' in 'HONI'. Below, on a ribbon, DIEU ET MON DROIT." (Cf. Jamieson, "Indian Chief Medals", page 19).

Some of the medals in possession of Canadian Sioux are three-inch medals (see Jamieson, page 18 and following).

- 3 On his way to Montreal, via St. Louis, Lord Selkirk writes to Alex McDonnell at Fort Douglas, Big Stone Lake, on Sept. 28, 1817: "We have been treated with great attention and hospitality by the Sioux, whose attachment and deference to Colonel Dickson are very remarkable. Nothing can prove more strongly the command that he has over them ... than the manner in which he has restrained them from going to war, notwithstanding so great a provocation ... We passed by Mr. Graham's post, and the grave of the murdered chief, to which we paid a compliment by placing a flag over it." Selkirk adds: "This is a matter of consequence as this compliment to the dead chief appears to have given great satisfaction to the Sioux." (H.B.C. Files, Acc. 43-20). In a previous letter, Selkirk refers to the medals given by Dickson, writing: "Mr. Graham will need another

- medal and chief's coat for the Sioux." (H.B.C., Acc. 43-19). The flag given to the Sioux was the Hudson's Bay Company flag, bearing the coat of arms on a white field.
- 4 Gunn-Tuttle, *History of Manitoba*, p. 301. A. Henry and Thompson Journals, Coue Ed., Vol. 1, pp. 260-3. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, Vol. 1, pp. 133 sqq.
  - 5 The Nor' Wester, Nov. 15, 1861.
  - 6 Ross, *Red River Settlement*, pp. 324, sqq.
  - 7 Dugast, *Legendes du Nord-Ouest*, p. 39.
  - 8 Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, Vol. 1, pp. 362, 378, 393. *Canadian Historical Review*, March 1940. *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Aug. 1934: *Warden of the Plains*, by Margaret Complin (p. 74).
  - 9 Morton, *History of the Canadian West*, p. 829.

### CHAPTER III.

## THE MINNESOTA OUTBREAK, 1862

On July 15, 1815, the Santee bands had made a peace treaty with the United States and ceded a tract of land at the mouth of the Minnesota River for the establishment of military posts. The Sioux ceded more land in 1836-37. Minnesota was organized as a Territory in 1849. Two years later the Santees were induced to sign a treaty by which they transferred to the United States all their lands in Iowa, Dakota and Minnesota, except a tract on the upper Minnesota River which they reserved for future occupancy. This tract of land was one hundred and fifty miles long, extending to Lake Traverse and was ten miles wide on each side of the river.

In 1858, the United States purchased from the Sioux the tract on the north side of the river, the Santees occupying the remainder of the Reservation until 1862. Two Santee tribes, the Mdewakantonwans and Wakpekutes, occupied in common the land below the Yellow Medicine River, which was called the Lower Reservation, while the Sissetons and Wahpetons occupied the part above the river which was styled the Upper Reservation. Large amounts of money and goods were annually delivered to them and labour was performed for their benefit. Two places for the transaction of business were established; the first being the Redwood Agency for the Lower Santees, the other, the Yellow Medicine Agency for the Upper Santees.

The different bands, under their hereditary chiefs, occupied separate villages, with the exception of some hundred families who had been induced to live together without distinction of bands. As the reservation was fertile and well adapted to farming purposes, about three thousand acres of land had been ploughed, fenced and planted. Indians who had accepted the white man's way of living were established on these lands; they were called "Farmer" Indians.

In the meantime, civilization had made rapid strides over the territory which the Indians had sold. From the old world and from every part of the new, a quarter of a million people had come to make this land their own. Every year countless steamboats brought immigrants into the country. Almost within stone's throw of the Sioux reservation grew a prosperous town, New Ulm, which was destined to be the scene of the worst massacre in the history of Minnesota.

Following the treaties, there was a great deal of unrest among the Santees in Minnesota. In 1857, Chief Inkpaduta had massacred the white population of the Spirit Lake Settlement. The Government of the United States utterly neglected to punish the Chief and his warriors. As these murderers remained at large, the Sioux Indians thought the Government was unable to punish them. The Indians thought that either they did not have enough soldiers or else that they were too cowardly to fight the Sioux.<sup>1</sup>

The main cause of discontent can be traced to the Treaty of Traverse-des-Sioux, in 1851. The Sissetons and Wahpetons were to receive a down payment of \$275,000.00 "provided that", to quote the words of the treaty, "said sum shall be paid to the chiefs in such manner as they, hereafter, in open council shall request, and as soon after the removal of the said Indians to the home set apart for them, as a necessary appropriation therefor shall be made by Congress."<sup>2</sup>

In 1851, the Santee Sioux ceded to the United States a magnificent empire over which their ancestors had roamed and hunted at will. They had now to live on an insignificant tract of land, and they realized they had been robbed. When they learned that even the reservation land would not be their own, that unauthorized promises made by the treaty commissioners had not been fulfilled, and that some \$400,000 had been distributed among traders and Halfbreeds without examination of their claims, the Indians were not disposed to trust the Government much longer.

The greatest factor leading to discontent among the Sioux, who saw themselves deprived of their traditional hunting ground and who thought they had no other recourse for obtaining their rights than killing the white invaders, was

the traditional policy of the United States Government towards the Indians.

The main faults of the Indian Policy of the United States Government were first, negotiating the treaties with the Indian tribes as with equal parties; and second, the frequent violation of treaties without reason. It is evident that through the disparity of power between the contracting parties, the strongest party imposed upon the Indians restrictions which were meant to subdue them entirely, and, while keeping up the pretence that the Indian tribes would still be independent, really put them in a position where they had to lead a life of total dependence on the good will of officials of the Indian service.

The payment of annuities in money was notoriously demoralizing. Most of these monies never reached the Indians at all but were pocketed by the traders for advances made to the Indians in provisions, the traders making one hundred to four hundred percent profit on sales. The traders were quite willing to give part of their "rake-off" to the Indian agents, seeing that the latter had the handling of the money, where-with the Indians paid their bills.

The Indian Agents themselves, with a few commendable exceptions, supplemented their small official earnings out of these monies. Generally speaking, they were not men of very high character. They were not too devoted to the welfare of the Indians. Moreover, they often gave them very poor example by their profanity, drunkenness and debauchery.

Another underlying cause of discontent among the Sioux was the seduction of the women and the increase of the half-breed population. These Metis despised their Indian relatives. However as Mr. Folwell says of them in his "History of Minnesota":

"... their affection expanded the moment some land or some annuity or other money was to be distributed to the Indians."

In 1861, Major Brown was forced to retire from the Sioux Agency.

Major Brown had made a good beginning with the Sioux Indians. He had induced hundreds of them to live in houses and till the soil, and thereby gradually assume the ways of

civilized man. He had met, to a certain extent, with success. However, a greater part of the Sioux were still roaming at will and could not be induced to settle down. Major Brown's successor, Thomas A. Galbraith, a man of character and ability, soon encountered great difficulties.

The Indians who had not accepted any form of civilization ridiculed and tormented those who had settled down to farming. They stole their pigs, drove off their cattle and raided their cornfields. The "blanket", or wild, Indians were very much incensed at the abandonment, by the farming Indians, of their ancient customs, their assumption of white man's dress and their adherence to the Christian religion. The farmer Indians, on the other hand, did very little work; they had their lands ploughed for them by the whites; they were much better supplied with food and clothing than the "blanket" Indians, and the extra expense was deducted from the common Indian fund. Every favor granted to the farmer Indians was looked upon by the others with jealous eyes, and the agents and the missionaries were accused of gross injustice.

The one hundred and seventy-five families (mostly from the Upper Council Santees: Sisseton-Wahpeton) having settled on farms in 1861, were lonesome among some seven thousand wild Sioux; after Major Brown's retirement their number did not increase very greatly.

### **Causes of the Outbreak**

In 1862, the treaty money currently due to the Indians had not been paid to them and they were left with nothing to eat. The Half-breeds circulated absurd stories among the Indians, trying to convince them that the Washington Government, then in the throes of the Civil War, was to come to an end, and that the money due the Indians would be paid out to the negroes of the Confederate States. The Sioux chiefs imagined they were able to kill the few soldiers who were in the territory, and then swarm down the Minnesota River and wipe out all the settlers in the Valley; the Government would then have to buy their lands over again.

## The Traders

The dissatisfaction engendered among the Indians was augmented by the failure of the Government to make the annual payment which was due in June of 1862, and by the traders refusing them credit at a time when they needed it most.

The traders were certain to be interested when large sums of money were to be distributed among the Indians. When the treaty money was to be paid, they brought their accounts together, made up a list of them and demanded that a provision for payment be inserted in the treaties. Ten years previously, the Indians had refused to consent to this at the time they signed the Treaty of Traverse-des-Sioux. In the same apartment where the treaty was being signed on one table, Major Brown presided at a second table on which was another paper. The Chiefs signed the treaty in duplicate, and as soon as they had given their names, they were led to Brown's table and there signed the other paper. This other paper turned out to be an acknowledgment on the part of the Indians of the justice of the claims of the traders and that those claims should be paid out of the money due to the Indians by treaty. The Indians had evidently been deceived and imposed upon with respect to the meaning of the said papers. Accordingly, they had protested in writing to Governor Ramsay, on December 15, 1851, in these words:

"We most solemnly protest that we never intended by any act of ours to set aside any such sum of money for the payment of assumed debts against our own people, nor do we believe it possible for our people to owe one-fourth of the amount thus assumed to be due to our creditors aforesaid."

As time went by, the situation of the Indians became desperate. Being ill-supplied with provisions, they were soon on the edge of starvation.

As an example of the attitude of some of the traders towards the Indians, we will quote the story of Andrew J. Myrick. The Santees had assembled to receive their rations. They were about to leave, and were complaining at the little amount of credit they could have at Myrick's. Turning towards them, Myrick deliberately said to the interpreter: "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass."



As the interpreter refused to translate this statement to Chief Little Crow and some hundred other Indians present with him, who were waiting for their rations, the agent called on a missionary, the Rev. S. R. Riggs, who, in a clear voice, gave the translation. There was a moment of silence, followed by savage hoots and yells and the Indians disappeared in a body. This heartless and insolent statement must have doubly incensed the Indians.

Later, at the battle of Birch Coulee, Little Crow sent Col. Sibley a split-stick message giving this statement of Myrick's as one of the reasons for beginning the war.

Myrick was one of the first to be shot on the day of the outbreak. When his body was found by a burial party, his mouth was stuffed with the grass commended to the Indians for food.

### The Council Lodge

A Santee chief named "Red Iron" organized a Council Lodge (Tiyotipi) in June, 1862. This was a secret organization of the young men, to direct the actions of the tribe when anything of importance was to be undertaken. The council decided that they would get all the credit possible from the traders and when the annuities arrived, they would not permit the traders to receive them; if the traders insisted, they would rob the stores, drive their owners from the reservation, or take their lives, according as it would seem expedient. The traders knew that the organization of the lodge boded them no good, so, when an Indian would ask for credit, they would retort, "Go to the soldiers' lodge and get credit."

Governor Ramsay of Minnesota Territory was charged with conspiring with the traders to defraud the Indians of the monies due to them. In the investigation which followed, Governor Ramsay defended himself on the grounds of the validity of the traders' papers, saying that the traders had assisted very effectively in securing the signing of the treaty by the Indians. Having resolved to disburse the money according to the schedule attached to the traders' paper, Ramsay, in order to settle his accounts with the Department, had to offer a receipt from the Sissetons and Wahpetons for the full amount of money due them. Governor Ramsay caused Red

Iron to be arrested and, to obtain his freedom, Red Iron signed the receipt and the annuities were finally distributed.

The same general state of affairs had developed in relation to the payments to the Lower Council of Sioux, who were to receive the sum of \$200,000.00.

In June 1862, about four thousand Indians had gathered at the Yellow Medicine Agency to receive their payments and to buy their supplies. They were forced to wait for six weeks. As there was only a small amount of provisions on hand, the Indian agent, Mr. Galbraith, wished to save them until the time of making the payment. This multitude of Indians was on the verge of starvation. Pressed by hunger, the Indians, knowing there was some flour purchased for them in the warehouse, thought it would not be wrong for them to take it by force under the present desperate circumstances.

Early in August, 1862, five or six thousand men surrounded a detachment of soldiers under Captain J. S. Marsh, from Fort Ridgely, which was encamped near the agency. A few Indians broke in the door of the warehouse with axes and carried out a large quantity of pork and flour. Galbraith made an ineffectual effort to have it brought back but, as the Indians were quite incensed and were taking a threatening attitude, it was judged best to avoid a collision with them. Scarcely had the Indians reached their own camp with the stolen provisions than they struck their tents and removed them a distance of two or three miles. This action was supposed to be a declaration of war.

### **Chief Standing Buffalo**

The Presbyterian minister of the Agency, Mr. S. R. Riggs, in an effort to pacify the Indians, immediately drove up to the Indian camp. He spoke to Standing-Buffalo, chief of the Sissetons, and told him that the breaking into of the warehouse was a great offence. In the afternoon of the robbery, Standing-Buffalo and fifty principal men of his band assembled at the Agency and said he was aware of what had occurred, but that he could not restrain the young men, so great was the pressure of hunger in his camp. Standing-Buffalo expressed willingness to repair the broken door at his expense, but did not want the young men who broke it down to be punished. Agent Galbraith

accepted this proposal and gave Standing-Buffalo more provisions in return for the promise that he would return immediately to his maize plantations at Big Stone Lake.

Standing-Buffalo accepted this condition, and in a couple of days, the northern camp had disappeared. After the opening of hostilities by the Lower Agency Santees, some of Standing Buffalo's warriors came down to Yellow Medicine to see Little-Crow, the chief of the hostile Indians. Through them Standing-Buffalo informed Little-Crow that, having commenced the hostilities with the whites, he must carry on the war without his help, and that, failing to make himself master of the situation, he should not flee through the country of the Sissetons.

### **Rice Creek Indian Council**

The night before the outbreak, August 16, 1862, a large Indian council was held at Rice Creek, fifteen miles above the Agency. It was agreed upon by Little-Crow, Inkpaduta, and a Winnebago chief, that on the next day they should go down to the Lower Agency, camp there that night, then go to Fort Ridgely, and to St. Paul, if necessary, in order to urge the making of the payment and that if they did not succeed, they should adopt more violent measures.

Thus, on that day, we find that the instinctive hatred of these Indians, who were able to bring into the field 1,300 well armed warriors, had reached its climax. These Indians were the most expert and daring skirmishers in the world, truly called the "Tigers of the Plains". They were fanned to a burning heat by many years of actual and fancied wrong, and their anger was intensified by fear of hunger and cold.

### **Indian Version of the Minnesota Outbreak**

The Indians' version of the outbreak, which has long remained a closed book to the white man, describes its inception in a dramatic manner.

The Sioux Indians, who are now living in Canada, have always been noted for their reticence on the subject of the Minnesota massacre. They have seldom discussed it with any white man. Here is the picturesque story told by the old Indians:

"With the Santees, who were living at the Redwood Agency of Minnesota, in 1862, there were the Winnebago Indians. They came to ask a Mdewakantonwan (Santee) chief, Wapahasa, to join them against the American troops, who were about to attack them as a result of recent troubles. Wapahasa had no desire to get mixed up in their troubles, but some of the young braves who were present at the council overheard the request of the Winnebagos and became very excited.

"The Ojibways were also dissatisfied and received frequent messages from the greatest of the Santee chiefs, Little-Crow (Taoyateduta), in regard to their mutual grievances.

"The Sioux had gone to the Indian agent at Redwood and laid a complaint, but the agent answered, "that the President was getting poor." The Sioux declared that the situation would have ended there and then, had not two mistakes occurred a few days afterwards.

"As the Indians who survived in Manitoba until a few years ago tell the story, it seems that three days following the conference with the Winnebago Indians, a small party of Sioux went out hunting. They met a party of German settlers on the trail. To avoid contact with the travellers, the hunters hid themselves in an outhouse on a settler's homestead. One of them stepped on the nest of a sitting hen, breaking one of the eggs. Attracted by the cackling hen, the house-wife came out of the kitchen and struck one of the Indians with a broom, whereupon he shot and killed her. The hunters were chased by the German settlers and a fight ensued.

"A few days later, another Sioux party went out hunting, but as they found no deer, one of them shot an ox belonging to a settler. One of the members of the party, named "Kill-Spirit", reprimanded his companion for killing the ox. The other young braves called him a coward. Kill-Spirit said that he would not remain with the party any longer. Going away with three of his comrades, he went to the Traveller's Inn, near Redwood, which was called by the Indians the "Long Flag Pole". After having eaten, the innkeeper asked Kill-Spirit to trade guns with him. Kill-Spirit agreed to the exchange. Kill-Spirit's companions went outside. The innkeeper began to load the new gun, talking the while to Kill-

Spirit. The companions of Kill-Spirit were only a short time outside when they heard a shot. Rushing back into the inn, they found the proprietor lying dead on the floor with a gaping hole in his chest. Kill-Spirit had gone on the war-path.

"Going back to the main Santee camp, Kill-Spirit boasted to the chiefs of his deed. The chiefs were undecided whether they would fight or not. While they were discussing the subject in council, they saw a boat coming from a nearby fort, loaded with soldiers. At the sight of the troops the young men were seized with the lust to kill, and without hesitation, they attacked the craft, slaying all its occupants."

Such is the traditional version among the Sioux Indians, as to the beginning of the outbreak.

The first event in the narrative refers to the Acton tragedy which took place on August 17. A party of six braves, of Chief Sakpe's band, killed several settlers. The last event refers to the story of the Redwood Ferry massacre, which took place shortly after the beginning of the Minnesota Outbreak. Captain John S. Marsh, who was in command of a party of forty-six men (5th Minn. Regiment), had halted at the ferry and was engaged in conversation with Chief White-Dog.

Unsuspected by the Americans, scores of Indians lay in ambush across the Redwood River. While the Indians were taking possession of the ferryman's house, White-Dog gave the signal for concerted action and a volley of bullets went crashing into Marsh's troops. Captain Marsh decided to cross the stream but was drowned in the attempt. The twenty-five surviving members of the company took refuge in Fort Ridgely.

### **A Hostile Chief: Little-Crow**

Little Crow was a Santee Chief whose sphere of influence was widespread. He was enough of a statesman to know that all the Sioux must unite in order to wage a successful war. But he could not secure much help from the Upper Council Sioux. He was the leader in many engagements with the American soldiers during the suppression of the outbreak.

The slaughter of the American soldiers at Redwood Ferry had all the effects of a great victory upon the Santees. They thought they could kill white men like sheep.

In the meanwhile, the Sisseton-Wahpetons had received dispatches asking them to take a share in the rebellion, but the Upper Agency Santees were divided in sentiment as to what action should be taken. Some of them advised the killing of all the whites and the selling of their goods. Others insisted that the whites should merely be sent away with their horses and whatever possessions they could take with them.

A prominent Indian of the Upper Agency, called "Other-Day", was against any uprising. "The whole country will soon be filled with soldiers from United States," he said, "and all the Indians will be killed or driven away."

Immediately on the arrival of another messenger at the Upper Agency with news of the Redwood Ferry massacre, the council broke up, and the Yanktonais, together with some Sissetons and a number of Wahpetons, went on the warpath.

Seeing this, Other-Day went to warn the white settlers of their danger. Under his guidance, a party of over sixty white settlers crossed the river and made their way to New Ulm. Judge Charles Flandreau organized a corps of volunteers to defend the town.

On August 19, Little-Crow, with three hundred Sioux warriors, camped near New Ulm, which was now crowded with refugees. They laid siege to the place. In a terrible assault on August 22, they killed a great number of whites and looted the stores and set the settlement on fire. Soon the depredations extended far and wide throughout the whole western frontier Minnesota and into Iowa and Dakota territory.

Flandreau, after a heroic defence against a much superior force of infuriated Indians, had to evacuate New Ulm.

Simultaneously, Fort Ridgely, where a great number of settlers had taken refuge, was attacked by the rebel Sioux. (Aug. 20th and 21st).

As the slaughter continued, and as the Indians were taking a great number of captives, these forays of the rebels struck terror into the hearts of the survivors and put them to instant flight. Practically all the inhabitants of twenty-three counties abandoned their homes and took the road eastward. A region two hundred and fifty miles long and fifty miles wide was

devastated and depopulated. The rebels shot the men, made captive the women, and indifferently butchered the children, or let them follow their mothers. Many a blood-curdling tale of torture and violence could be told about the rebels, but it is not necessary to recite the gruesome details here.

### Hostile and Loyal Santees

It is important to note here that while all the Santees were deeply incensed by the injustice of the Government and of the traders, the Lower Council tribes, the Mdewakantonwans and Wahpekutes, were the most anxious to go on the warpath. Of the Upper Council, the Farming Indians, who had taken up cultivating the land and were mostly Christians, were not willing to commit any violence. These Indians were the Wahpetons under the leadership of Red Iron, and the Sissetons who were permanently encamped at Big Stone Lake, under the leadership of Standing Buffalo, Scarlet Plume and Waanatan. Between Big Stone Lake and the Missouri River, however, there was a group of Yanktonnai, a wild tribe, who were on friendly terms with the Sissetons, and were intermarried with them; these Yanktonnai had a share in the uprising.

The Yanktons were on the Missouri River at the time of the uprising, and remained quietly at home during the hostilities. They were 3,000 strong; their chief was Pananiapapi (Strike-the-Rée).

As a whole, the Upper Council Sioux did not take part in the Minnesota Outbreak, although it is quite certain that a number of their young men joined in raids made on the white settlements. One of the main reasons why the Upper Council Sioux did not participate in the outbreak was the fact that there were feelings of hostility between them and the Lower Council Indians. The pride of the Upper Indians was hurt by the failure of the others to take counsel with them before beginning the war. Having acquired a large amount of plunder, the Lower Indian chiefs sent word to the Upper Indians saying that, if they would join in the war there would be an equal distribution of the spoils. This promise was not carried out even after a number of young braves of the Sisseton band had taken part in various raids.

During the outbreak, the Sisseton Indians protected the prisoners taken by the Lower Santees against any outrages. The matter was discussed in a council at which all the Sioux receiving annuities were present, but the Lower Indians would not consent to the captives being delivered to the Sissetons. After this council, the danger of collision between the Upper and Lower Council Indians was imminent, and had it occurred, all the prisoners would have been murdered. The Upper Indians formed a Council Lodge and forbade their warriors to proceed any further into hostile territory. Rebel Santees came to Standing-Buffalo's camp and offered some of their plunder. The offer was refused by Standing-Buffalo who intended to gather his warriors to rescue the prisoners by force and to make peace with the whites, leaving the rebels to shift for themselves. In another council called by Standing-Buffalo, at which both Upper and Lower Council chiefs and warriors were present, the chief of the Upper Sissetons spoke as follows:

"I am a young man but I have always felt friendly towards the whites because they were kind to my father. You have brought me into great danger without my knowing of it beforehand. By killing the whites, it is just as if you had waited for me in ambush and shot me down. You Lower Indians feel very bad because we have all got into trouble; but I feel worse because I know that neither I nor my people have killed any of the whites, and that yet we have to suffer for the guilty ... We claim this reservation. What are you doing here? If you want to fight the whites, go back and fight them. We are going back to Big Stoney Lake and leave you to fight the whites. Those who make peace can say that Standing-Buffalo and his people will give themselves up in the spring."

There was a great deal of dissension among the Indians at this council.

A large number of Sissetons, unfortunately, joined ranks with Little-Crow in the siege of Fort Abercrombie, which began on August 25th, and also in the attack on the Fort which took place on September 3rd. The position of the Upper Agency Indians was getting more and more difficult. The innocent members of the Upper bands, fearing the white man's indiscriminate vengeance, notwithstanding Colonel Sibley's promise of immunity to all the innocent Indians, sought to flee from



the scene of the massacres. The Sissetons and Wahpetons then went hunting buffalo between the James and Missouri Rivers, in Dakota territory.

### **Suppression of the Rebellion**

It is estimated that the number of civilians killed in the outbreak numbered six hundred and forty-four and that ninety-three soldiers were killed in battle. It is impossible to ascertain the Indian losses, as it was their custom to carry off and conceal from the enemy the bodies of the slain.

The Indian campaign of 1862, under the direction of Colonel Sibley, brought swift retribution to the Sioux for the injuries they had inflicted on the white settlers. The rebels were defeated in two engagements on Sept. 25th, the first at Birch Coulee, the second at Wood Lake. The military power of the Sioux was finally shattered at Redwood, on Sept. 23rd. Two hundred and sixty-nine white captives, preserved by the effective intervention of the friendly Sisseton and Wahpeton Indians, were delivered to Colonel Sibley (Sept. 26th). The rebel chief, Little-Crow, had sufficient influence to hold the support of the main body of warriors for a while, but there were dissensions even in their ranks. Chiefs Wapahasa and Taopi, who had taken no hostile action, except under compulsion, had expressed the desire to be taken under Sibley's protection. The rebels were finally subdued and a great number of Indians were taken prisoner. By November, 1862, four hundred rebels had been tried, of whom three hundred and seven were sentenced to death. Of this number, thirty-eight were executed on December 27th, 1862. The others were moved to Fort Snelling near Davenport, Iowa, where they were kept under guard for three years. Finally released, they were moved into the Nebraska and Dakota Territories.

In 1863, Sibley, now a General, pursued and defeated the remnants of the rebel Indians on the Big Mound, a hill in the Missouri Coteau. Further engagements at Dead Buffalo Lake and at Stony Lake, in July of that year, finally drove the Santee rebels to the shores of the Missouri River.

From a white man's point of view, the outbreak amounted simply to a massacre. However, the Sioux saw themselves

engaged in war, the most honourable of all pursuits, against men who had robbed them of their country and of their freedom. The Sioux were making war on the white man in the same fashion in which they would have done against the Ojibways.

Cases of mutilations undoubtedly occurred, but these cases were by no means as numerous as the excited imaginations of refugees made them out to be. On the other hand, there were many cases of tenderness and generosity to captives on the part of the rebels. The older Sioux chiefs would gladly have restrained their warriors from indiscriminate slaughter, but this was impossible, seeing that there were hundreds of young braves to whom the eagle feather was the most precious thing in life.

It would be unsafe to assert, as has frequently been done, that the Sioux outbreak of 1862 was deliberately concocted and that a definite plan of campaign was agreed upon.

In this connection certain chieftains are mentioned as responsible in the various narratives of the outbreak. But it is almost impossible to determine which ones, if any, organized the massacres on such a large scale. There is no doubt that Little-Crow was the most influential in leading the Santees to revolt.

The Santees, their power crushed forever, had been dispersed. A great number of them escaped prison and deportation by fleeing northwards to British territory, while some others moved to the West, joining forces with the still unconquered Teton Sioux.\*

\* Cf. Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. XII, pp. 263-280. (Hughes, Thos., on Inkpaduta Massacre.)

2 Kappler, Indian Affairs, Vol. II: Treaties, p. 589.

3 Cf. South Dak. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. I, App. A.

4 Toronto Star Weekly, Toronto, Ont., March 31, 1923, (Canadian Sioux Chief.)

5 Heard, I. V. D., Sioux War and Massacre, p. 159.

6 Cf. bibliography:

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE HOSTILE SIOUX FLEE TO THE RED RIVER

Since the year 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company had ruled a vast territory in British North America. This land was inhabited at the beginning of the nineteenth century by nearly fifty thousand aborigines; Algonkin, Athapaskan and Siouan. Each group was divided into tribes: the Algonkin include the Ojibways, Saulteux, Crees, in the eastern part of the prairies; the Blackfeet, Bloods and Piegans in the west; the Athapaskans were in the north, and the Siouan were represented by the Assiniboines.<sup>1</sup>

Over a thousand white men were engaged in the fur trade in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and certain independent Canadian organizations, later amalgamated in the great North West Company. The Nor'Westers easily outranked in initiative and enterprise the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Hudson's Bay Company held its power in virtue of a Royal Charter, granted by Charles II, and also in virtue of certain specific acts passed by the British Parliament, from time to time, with respect to administration.

The employees of both companies had for a long time been contracting alliance with the Indian women in the neighbourhood of the forts and trading posts. From these alliances developed a race of people known as the Metis or Half-breeds. Colonization followed the opening of the land by the fur traders. Lord Selkirk made a first attempt in 1812, to colonize the Red River Valley. He had acquired very large interests in the Hudson's Bay Company, and was able to obtain a vast area of land in the most fertile portion of the country.

In the year 1860 Rupert's Land and the North West were no part of Canada. These territories were a British Colony administered by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was populated by some ten thousand French and English Half-breeds and over one thousand two hundred whites. The centre of the settlement was Fort Garry, which is now the City of Winnipeg.

## Why the Santees fled to Canada

While Sibley was pushing the Sioux to the west and to the south, a number of rebels, confident of receiving help from the British, fled northwards to the boundary.

Early in the outbreak, Little-Crow had written a letter to the English at Pembina asking for help:

"Our fathers have told us that when the English fought the Americans, the Sioux helped them and captured a cannon which they gave to them and it was called the 'Little Dakota'. Do you recollect this? We have helped you when you were in trouble. My own grandfather periled his life in your cause. Now we are in difficulty and want that cannon and your assistance. We shall soon send men to counsel with you and to bring the cannon; and we want you also to give us plenty of powder and lead. With these we can defeat the Americans."<sup>2</sup>

It is not easy to ascertain whether the first groups of rebel Sioux who came up to Canada did so to secure this help, or whether, afraid of Sibley's expeditionary force, the Sioux were desirous of seeking a haven while the storm was raging in their own country. As we have seen before, the Sioux were under the impression that the British were the enemies of the Americans and that they would receive help and support from the "Great Mother".

The numerous medals and flags which had been distributed among the Sioux were to them tangible tokens of the friendliness of the British to their race. During the entire outbreak, the rebel Sioux had always shown great respect for the British flag. Little-Crow was confident that whenever his people got into trouble with the Americans, they had only to go to the British and the red flag would enfold them and preserve them from their enemies.

A remarkable instance of the foresight of the Sioux Indians is shown in the fact that, although up to this time they had been at strife with the Metis of the Red River settlement and had fought them whenever they met on buffalo hunting ground, they concluded a peace with their former antagonists before committing the first overt act of war during the out-

break. A peace conference had been held in September 1861 with Matowakan (Holy Bear) during which pledges of amity had been exchanged.<sup>3</sup>

During the outbreak, the stage coaches, which travelled from St. Paul to Fort Garry had been attacked by the Sioux and the passengers killed and scalped. The route to the Red River through the States was, therefore, immediately closed.

The Hudson's Bay Company's post at Georgetown, which was in the heart of the Sioux country, was protected by the rebel Indians. As the water in the river had subsided to such an extent that the steamboat could not run, it was necessary to lay her up and abandon her for the winter, but the Sioux Indians, seeing the British flag over the Post, never made any attempt to plunder her. The cargo of the boat, which was taken down the river to the settlers, partly in a barge and partly in a train of carts, was delivered safely to the Canadian settlements.

Another instance of the protection accorded the people travelling under the British flag was shown in the story told by Young, in "Canoe and Dog Train".<sup>4</sup>

He and his party, which included the Rev.-G. McDougall and a number of missionaries, entered the Sioux country via Minnesota. "The missionaries", says Young, "were warned by the settlers that it would be impossible for them to make their way through the Indian country without falling victims to the Sioux. 'Oh yes, we will,' said Mr. McDougall. 'We have a little flag that will carry us safely through any Indian tribe in America.' The prophecy proved true, for when a few days later the travellers met a band of Sioux, the sight of the Union Jack fluttering from a whip stock caused them to throw down their arms and approach to shake hands with the missionaries. In passing through the Sioux country, the white men, on Mr. McDougall's orders, stowed away their arms and met the Indians as friends. At nights the camp fires of these redoubtable warriors could be seen on the plain but the missionary party traveled and slept in peace. Nothing was disturbed or stolen."

When interrogated as to the marks by which his people knew the Americans from the English, Little-Crow described

the ordinary ones as three in number. The Americans used four-wheeled wagons and the English two-wheeled wooden Red River carts. The former were drawn by mules, the latter by horses or oxen, and while the Americans had pale faces, the English cheeks were red.

The Indians, who were remarkably observant, easily distinguished between the American and English voices, and the unlucky expression "I guess", unconsciously used within the hearing of a sharp-eared Sioux, doomed many an unsuspecting victim to his death by betraying his nationality.

### **The First Arrivals**

In December 1862, the main leader of the rebel Santees, Little-Crow, was camping at Devil's Lake, in Dakota Territory. In his camp were eight hundred lodges of Sioux, four to five thousand souls. Little-Crow was confident that he could continue to trade with the British companies, and he expressed his intentions of going to Fort Garry soon.

The first band of refugees crossed the boundary late in December, 1862. As they were nearing Fort Garry they were met, on December 28th, in one of the Roman Catholic Churches of the Red River Valley, by Governor-in-Chief Dallas, W. McTavish, Governor of Assiniboia, and the Catholic Bishop Msgr. A. Tache. The Sioux were exhorted to return home, but in vain. They were about five hundred in number and took up a position at Sturgeon Creek, about six miles from Fort Garry.

The settlements were defenceless, as the troops had been removed. Great consternation was caused in the settlement by the arrival of the Sioux. Although the visit of the Sioux was alleged to be of a friendly character, the settlers greatly feared the refugees, on account of the terrible tales told about the Minnesota outbreak. The mail service had been interrupted at the beginning of the outbreak, and was not resumed until the end of October. The local government at Fort Garry did not wish to see the Red River Indians fraternizing with the murderers of the whites in Minnesota, or to give the Sioux an opportunity of providing themselves with war material to be used against the Americans. It was unexpedient that the Sioux

should consider British settlers as their allies against the forces of the Union.

During the latter days of December, 1862, a party of refugees, consisting of eighty warriors and ten women, made its appearance at Fort Garry. The men were without ammunition and were very hungry. Their clothes were in rags. They were lodged in the Court Room, which was the only place available for their accommodation. It seems that none of them had been compromised in the late massacres and that only fifteen of them were Indians of the rebel bands of the Lower Council. The object of their visit was, they said, to ascertain the feelings entertained towards them by the Indians and Half-breeds on the British side of the border, and they also expressed regret at what they regarded as the hopeless situation into which their nation had brought itself.

Through the instrumentality of Gabriel Dumont, a peace was signed between the Halfbreeds and the Sioux in 1862. This had brought to an end the regularly occurring war expeditions of the preceding century. When the first refugees came to Canada, the council of the Halfbreeds had organized a meeting in St. Norbert and had met a deputation of the Sioux.

During their stay at Fort Garry they visited Bishop Anderson, of the Anglican Church, who received them with great sympathy, and, after receiving presents of pemmican and other food, the party, apparently satisfied, returned to Devil's Lake on December 31st.

It was believed at Fort Garry that the purpose of their visit was different from what they had professed. It was, therefore, deemed prudent to make a prominent display of field guns, for the purpose of impressing on the Sioux the fact that the Canadians were not unprepared for the belligerent "friends" in case of emergency.

In February, 1863, a petition was sent to the Colonial Secretary, signed by Monsignor Tache, by the Anglican Bishop, and by Judge Black, to obtain military protection against the refugees.\*

The Sioux, who had crossed the border, had been attacked by the Saulteux on some occasions. Five Indians had been shot

and it was feared there would be an outbreak between the Sioux and the Saulteux. However, the clash did not take place, and during their residence in British territory the Sioux generally fraternized with the Saulteux Indians and continually associated with them.

Persistent rumours of the coming of a larger body of Sioux rebels into Canada caused great fear among the Red River settlers. On the 29th of May, under the leadership of their most formidable chief, Little-Crow, a band of about eighty Sioux arrived at Fort Garry, and were lodged, as previously, in the Court House. The party remained for three days and had two long interviews with the authorities, the first of which took place in the Court room, and the second in a private room in Fort Garry. During the conference in the court room that chamber was densely crowded by a worried and curious audience.

Having spoken of their long-standing respect for the British flag, having displayed the medals which had been given their forefathers in the time of George III, and having expressed the wish to be at peace with the British settlement forever, the Sioux asked for a present of food and ammunition. Little-Crow begged Governor Dallas to exert his influence on his behalf with General Sibley, the officer in command of the United States troops acting against the Sioux in Minnesota.

After grave and anxious deliberations, Little-Crow was promised food, but refused ammunition on the grounds that this would create ill feeling with the United States and would impede the Governor exercising his good offices with General Sibley on behalf of the Sioux.

Following Little-Crow's visit came Sakpe (Little-Six), chief and half-brother of the former. Sakpe remained in the neighborhood of Fort Garry hunting and trapping.

Losing hope that Governor Dallas would exert his influence on his behalf with General Sibley to secure favourable terms for him, Little-Crow left Fort Garry and joined company with a party of Red River buffalo hunters. He followed these hunters persistently and could not be shaken off. But as he behaved in a most friendly manner, the hunters had no reason to fear any violence on his part.



In February, 1863, a band of rebels was camped at St. Joseph, near Pembina. There were about fifty-five lodges of Sioux in Little-Crow's band. They camped there until the following summer. The white settlers were held as captives. Little-Crow made a peaceful visit to the camp in July. After Father Germain, the missionary, had given all his money, clothes and possessions to the Indians, the settlers were liberated. No outrage had been committed against them.<sup>7</sup>

By this time Little-Crow was lean, emaciated and cadaverous. He was rapidly losing prestige among his warriors and was no longer obeyed. In July, 1863, Little-Crow's dead body was found on the Plains. He had been on a horse stealing raid with his son, Wowinape. He was shot and killed by Nathan and Chauncey Lamson. (July 3rd). Wowinape escaped.<sup>8</sup>

### Father Andre Interviewed General Sibley

Brigadier-General Sibley was vigorously scouring the Plains in search of the Sioux rebels. He was unsuccessful in contacting his foes who were continually escaping him. He had no means of communicating with the enemy. During the autumn of 1863, the Halfbreed buffalo hunters from the Red River encountered General Sibley and his troops. Father Andre, a priest who happened to be accompanying the hunt, was interviewed by the General in his own tent.

Subsequently Father Andre was commissioned to visit some of the Sioux tribes and urge their chiefs to make peace with the Americans. As Father Andre was personally known to the Indians he visited, it was easy for him to contact the rebels. He found the Sioux Indians very despondent. A Sioux Chief, encamped on the Souris River, said to Father Andre:

"We do not deserve to live. God, to punish us, will not permit us to live, and the greater part of us will not live until spring."<sup>9</sup>

Father Andre's efforts were ineffectual. When giving an account of his embassy to General Sibley he complained that his efforts had been defeated by the conduct of subordinate officials in the American army on the frontier.

## Assistance bestowed on the Refugees

In November of the same year twelve Sioux Indians, and their families, arrived in the Red River colony; these were soon followed, on December 11th, by a party of sixty lodges comprising nearly five hundred Indians. These refugees were in a state of absolute starvation. The hunting of the buffalo had been very unsuccessful that fall and they had very few guns and no ammunition.

In their first interview with the officials, they stated that they had come to live and die in the Red River settlement, where it was better for them to depend for existence on the charity of the whites than to perish in the snowdrifts of the prairies.

The amount of assistance bestowed by the settlers was considerable. However, they did not wish to excite the jealousy of the Saulteux by extending too much aid to the Sioux.

Towards the close of the year, through the continuous arrival of small parties, the camp had increased to six hundred. It is hard to imagine the extreme destitution to which these people were reduced. Haunting the settlement with their haggard looks, they could be seen roaming the streets of Fort Garry, begging for clothes and food from door to door, and oftentimes helping themselves to refuse from inns and private homes.

Governor Dallas took pity on them, and sent a sleigh-load of carpets, blankets and cast-off clothing to their encampment. The shivering wanderers, in their eagerness to secure a share of the Governor's relief, could hardly be prevented from laying violent hands on the sleigh and helping themselves.

The Governor could not humanely drive them away as the temperature was ranging between twenty and forty below zero. So destitute were they that they did not even have wire to snare rabbits. Finally on December 25th, Governor Dallas provided them with a large supply of pemmican. They left their camp at the settlement, halting temporarily at White Horse Plain where they demanded ammunition. This was refused them. However, private parties distributed more food among them. This policy of providing for them through private parties

was followed so that the Indians might not know they were indebted for relief to the Government. Had they known it, they might have been encouraged to increase their demands.

So great was the distress of the refugee Sioux that they offered their children for sale to the settlers, a very unprecedented occurrence, as Indians generally would prefer to see them starve than give them up to the white people.

Great sympathy for the starving children was shown by the white inhabitants of the settlement. Three Sioux children, whose parents had been murdered, were taken care of by some of the settlers. The Grey Nuns of the small convent of St. Francis-Xavier, which was located some twenty miles from Fort Garry, accepted charge of a boy and three girls from a party of Indians encamped near their residence, and would have taken care of more had their resources permitted. Moreover, they gave the destitute Indians a present of one hundred and twenty pounds of pemmican.

There were other refugees at Poplar Point and at Turtle Mountain. These too, were in dire straits. Mr. Dallas consulted with Governor McTavish of Assiniboia and suggested to him that sufficient food and ammunition be supplied to them to procure game, but the Sioux positively refused to go away, giving as reason the inability of the old men, women and children to travel in winter.

However, the Sioux finally disbanded, some of them going fishing on Lake Manitoba in February, others returning to Sturgeon Creek and settling down in various spots along the Assiniboine River. Finally a number of them, having clashed with the Saulteux near Lake Manitoba, crossed the border with the Halfbreed hunters, to hunt the buffalo in the United States.

### Unwelcome guests

The presence of over six hundred refugees near Fort Garry was the cause of a great deal of annoyance to the settlers. The 1863 crop had been a partial failure, and the fall hunt had been very poor. Supplies were difficult to get. Some even thought that it would be advisable to drive the Sioux away by force.

The settlers living near the Sturgeon Creek Sioux camp gave a considerable amount of help to the refugees. The Sioux

were living in the wretched lodges they had hastily erected to protect themselves from the rigors of winter. One could see the men wandering about the settlement with a gaunt skeleton look, and imploring help with hoarse voices. The project of driving them away in that pitiable state, would have been tantamount to murder and it was not entertained for a day by the men in office.

Having received supplies from Governor Dallas, most of the Sioux had stopped to camp at White Horse Plains, twenty-five miles up the Assiniboine from Fort Garry.<sup>11</sup>

Despairing of the departure of the Sioux and fearing violence on the part of the Saulteux Indians, who were casting a jealous eye on the favors conferred on the refugees, the settlers anxiously recommended that Major Hatch, of the U. S. army, then garrisoned at Pembina, should be invited to cross the border and take the Sioux prisoners.

In December, 1863, United States military authorities sent an envoy to see the Governor-in-Chief, with a view to secure the return of the Sioux to United States territory. The Governor was assured that though the American authorities would punish such of the Sioux as had actually been engaged in the Massacre, they would furnish the innocent with all needed supplies of food and clothing for the winter, in the event they gave themselves up peaceably. The Council granted permission to the American authorities to enter negotiations with the Sioux in the North West Territories, on condition that no aggressive measures would be adopted against them. However, this permission was never acted upon.

Four hundred American Cavalry, under Major Hatch, arrived at Pembina in pursuit of the refugees, but they could not cross the boundary. Governor Dallas was urged on all sides to call in their assistance. Some of the settlers had already applied to the Officer Commanding the U.S. forces. He, however, would not act without a requisition from the Governor. The Governor thought that nothing short of actual and imminent peril to the lives of the settlers would justify the intervention of a foreign force on British territory.<sup>12</sup>

The local government of the colony harboured the refugees chiefly because it had no effective means of sending them back to the United States. Motives of humanity were, undoubtedly a contributing cause. The possibility that, given an opportunity, the great Sioux bands, still in the United States, would come to seek a permanent asylum in the territories, seemed to be gradually developing itself into a probability, and it was with great anxiety that every one looked forward to the future.

### Kidnapping of Two Indian Chiefs

The American army was very anxious to secure punishment of a number of refugee Sioux, who had been guilty of murder and other acts of violence in the Minnesota territory. But no order or official request was made for the arrest of the two main leaders: Sakpe (Little-Six, a half brother of Little-Crow, and Medicine-Bottle (Tateicasnamani).<sup>13</sup>

Major Edwin Hatch, of the American troops, stationed at Pembina, presuming that the capture of these chiefs would be of great service to his country, sent a Lieutenant of his battalion to call upon John H. McKenzie, a United States citizen, resident at Fort Garry. The Lieutenant carried a letter of introduction and was instructed to secure the surrender of the murderers.

On January 15th, 1864, the Lieutenant travelled to the Sioux encampment, twenty-five miles west of Fort Garry, and, on the following day, he met the chiefs. They rejected the suggestion that they should surrender of their own free will to the American Government. Mr. Lane, who was in charge of supplying the Indians with food, was asked to tell them that he would stop their rations if they did not return to the United States. But the interpreter, whose name was Giguere, translated Mr. Lane's statement as an unqualified and absolute assertion that the rations would be stopped. Little-Six declared that he would go down to see the Governor of the territory and also the Bishop of Fort Garry. Later in the day it was arranged that the two chiefs should have a free ride to Fort Garry. They reached A. G. Bannatyne's house at midnight. The Indians were plied with liquor until they were drunk and then laudanum was added to their drinks; as soon as Little-Six

became unconscious, Mr. Bannatyne tied a handkerchief saturated with chloroform to his nose.

With hands and feet tied, Little-Six and Medicine-Bottle were strapped on a flat dog-sled spread with buffalo robes. Mr. McKenzie drove off with his captives to Pembina, where they were delivered to Major Hatch.<sup>14</sup>

The illegal procedure followed by Major Hatch was severely criticized because it was most uncalled for.

Medicine-Bottle, in a written statement made during his trial, challenged the jurisdiction of the commission to try a person kidnapped from a foreign state where the United States had no right to effect a seizure. No state can reach over into the domain of a foreign power and drag from its protection any criminal by force. The fact that the persons who kidnapped Medicine-Bottle and Little-Six acted on their own initiative shows that the Canadian Government was not responsible for the extradition of the Indian Chiefs. On the other hand, as the actions of Major Hatch were not authorized by his superiors and were undertaken on his own responsibility, the American Government can also be absolved of complicity in the matter of the abduction.

In the spring of 1864 Little-Six and Medicine-Bottle were taken to Fort Snelling; in November and December of that year they were tried for murder and convicted, but the sentence of death was not executed until November 11th, 1865.<sup>15</sup>

### **Surrenders of Rebel Sioux**

Some forty-two Indians had returned to Pembina on the 4th of January, 1864, and were confined as prisoners of war. Before the end of the month forty-nine others had arrived. Both parties were sent to Fort Snelling in April, 1864.

To secure the expulsion of the Sioux from Canada, pressure was being exerted on Governor Dallas to call in the American cavalry stationed across the border. In the end, he consented and gave the required permission (March 1864).

However, it was impossible for the American troops to travel during the month of March, 1864, on account of the deep snow drifts. The American troops were ill-provided

and badly mounted. The United States troops never crossed the frontier, as in April they were ordered to return to Fort Abercrombie.

### Clash with the Saulteux

Early in May, 1864, a party of Sioux which had passed the winter at Lake Manitoba and supported itself by fishing under the ice, was surrounded by a number of Saulteux. The Sioux were unable to defend themselves. Firing into the lodges, they killed six of the Sioux outright and seriously wounded a number of others, fourteen of whom died later. Only one of the Saulteux was killed by a stray Sioux bullet. The Sioux survivors took immediate precautions against another such surprise. By digging pits, they contrived to construct a camp that was easy to defend." The Sioux felt they were not safe in the territory of the Saulteux.

The greater number of the refugees, who had been wandering about the Red River settlement, finally made a peaceful exit southwards to the U.S.A. in the company of the summer plain hunters. The only thing that could be charged against them during their stay in the settlement was the commission of a few acts of petty larceny.

Three years later, Major General Corse, commanding the District of Minnesota, was directed by the American authorities to communicate with the Governor of Assiniboia. He dispatched Colonel Adams to speak in his name. A complete amnesty and absolution for all past offences was promised the hostile Sioux if they surrendered themselves at Fort Abercrombie. The Governor and Council of Assiniboia were urged to influence the Sioux to accede to this proposal. Accordingly, Judge Black and Mr. McClure were authorized to get in touch with the Sioux chiefs, and to supply them with the provisions necessary for their return to the United States. All efforts met with failure and the Sioux remained in British territory.

They were then living in tents in the parishes of Poplar Point, High Bluff and Portage-la-Prairie. The Sioux were found very useful and were employed as labourers; they helped the settlers on their farms, ploughing, making fence-rails and

assisting at the harvest. They also engaged in fishing, hunting and trapping.

While the rebel Sioux of the Mdewakantonwan and Wahpekute bands were in almost desperate straits in British territory, and while every effort for their removal in a body was meeting with failure, another large body of Sioux, the loyal Sissetons and Wahpetons were still in United States territory, camping along the Missouri river.

These Indians, harassed by the United States army, were casting hopeful glances to the North, and the day was coming when a great number of them would come to meet their kinsmen in British territory.

- 1 Begg, History of N. West, Vol. I, p. 214.
- 2 Heard, History of Sioux Wars and Massacres, p. 46.
- 3 Nor' Wester, Nov. 15, 1861.
- 4 Young, Canoe and Dog Train, p. 38.
- 5 Dallas to Fraser, 30 Dec. 1862. (Papers rel. to the Sx. Ind.) No. 12, Encl.
- 6 Berens to Newcastle, Feb. 9, 1863. (Do, in No. 12.)
- 7 Berens to Newcastle, Feb. 26, 1863. (Do, in No. 15.)
- 7 Nor' Wester, July 22, 1863.
- 8 Nor' Wester, Aug. 5, 1863.
- 9 Nor' Wester, March 17, 1864.
- 10 Hargrave, Red River, p. 315. Cf. also: Dallas to Fraser, Dec. 11, 1863, in Papers rel. to the Sioux Ind. Encl. I in No. 1.  
\*Other instances of adoptions: Msgr. Taché adopted eleven Sioux, children and adults. The Grey Nuns at St. Boniface were taking care of old people, among whom an old Sioux woman, reputed to be 120 years of age. Métis families of the Red River district adopted many Sioux children.
- 11 Morton, History of Canadian West, p. 860.
- 12 Wash. Dept. of State, Folio G-231 (42), Jan. 12, 1863 (P.A.C.)
- 13 Tatecasnamani means literally: Wind-rustling-walks. This is the real name of "Medicine Bottle", also called by some historians "Jug". He was loyal to the U.S. earlier in the outbreak.
- 14 Gunn and Tuttle, Hist. of Manitoba, p. 316. Hargrave, Red River, p. 317.
- 15 Folwell, Hist. of Minnesota, Vol. II, p. 293.
- 16 These fortifications or trenches may still be seen in the vicinity of St. Marks, north of Poplar Point, Man. They are called the "Sioux Pass".



## CHAPTER V.

### A LOYAL CHIEF: STANDING-BUFFALO

While the rebels were being dispersed and driven from Minnesota territory, the loyal bands of Sioux were forced to abandon their homes because of the animosity of the white settlers. It was indeed almost impossible for a white man to distinguish between a rebel and a loyal Indian; in any event many young braves among the loyal Sisseton and Wahpeton bands had been guilty of taking part in the outbreak.

The chief of the Sissetons, Standing-Buffalo (Tatanka-najin), was a man of peaceful inclinations. While still a young man, he had succeeded his aged father as leader of his tribe, and had proved himself to be a prudent and wise leader. Tall, lithe and muscular, he presented a striking appearance.

After the outbreak had subsided, the Sissetons spent the fall of 1862 hunting near the James River and then wintered near Devil's Lake.

The following spring, 1863, General Sibley undertook another campaign to drive the rebels out of Minnesota.

As Sibley's troops were marching towards the hunting grounds between the James and Missouri Rivers, in July, 1863, scouting parties learned from the son of Little-Crow that his father had started towards the Minnesota settlements to steal horses. Little-Crow's design was to secure horses for his men and then retire into British territory, where the American soldiers could not reach them. Sibley overtook the fleeing Indians, taking them wholly by surprise.

In the meantime eight hundred lodges of Sissetons and Wahpetons spent the spring season wandering about the country, hoping the Government would learn that they were innocent of any part in the outbreak and that they would be called to their reservations to receive the annuities.

## **Inkpaduta's Treachery**

By the first of July they had started off towards the Missouri River on the buffalo hunt. When they reached the vicinity of Big Mound, they learned from Inkpaduta, a notorious outlaw, that a large party of Tetons were crossing the Missouri to hunt on the east side of the river. By this time Inkpaduta had gained a great deal of influence. His followers comprised a large group of Yanktonais and a number of Sissetons of the Lean Bear band and White Lodge's bands.

Inkpaduta was the son of Black Eagle, a Wahpekute chieftain. He had a violent temper and a bad character. A villainous renegade, whose hand was against every man, white and Indian alike, he had succeeded his father as chief of an outlaw band. One of his first exploits was to kill Wambdikiyapi, together with seventeen Sioux hunters as they slept in their camp. This happened about the year 1848.

Having been outlawed by his own people, Inkpaduta (Scarlet Point), was not summoned to the council which they held at Traverse-des-Sioux in 1851, nor was he consulted in the matter of disposal of the lands in Minnesota. The tribes considered that, by his conduct, he had forfeited all claim upon them.

However, he forced them to share their treaty money with him. Whenever an Indian rendered himself so obnoxious to his tribe that his life was endangered, he knew that he would find safety and welcome in Inkpaduta's camp.

Having gone unpunished for the Spirit Lake massacre (1857), he took an active share in the outbreak with Chief Little-Crow.

On July 24th, the Sissetons and Wahpetons beheld Sibley's army almost upon them. Knowing that Standing-Buffalo was in the Indian camp, and knowing that he was friendly to the Americans, Sibley sent a party of scouts to him, with a request for a council meeting. The scouting party was made up of loyal Indians. Scarlet Plume, another friendly chief, warned the scouts that Inkpaduta was present in the Sisseton camp and might engineer a conspiracy to kill General Sibley at the meeting.

It happened that an army surgeon, Dr. Joseph S. Weiser, attached to the First Minnesota Rangers, curious to know what was going on, rode forward in advance of the troops to a knoll where Sibley's scouts and the Indians were parleying.

While the friendly Sissetons were enjoying themselves meeting their friends, a young brave of Inkpaduta's band, named Little-Fish, shot at Dr. Weiser and killed him, mistaking him for General Sibley. This may explain why even to this day the Sissetons believe that Sibley was killed.

Instantly the battle was on. The first victims of Inkpaduta's treachery were some of the older men of the Sissetons who, absolutely ignorant of what had taken place and quite unprepared for an outbreak of hostilities, were proceeding peacefully to Sibley's camp to attend the council. As all Indians looked alike to the American soldiers, Standing-Buffalo's followers were attacked. Taken completely by surprise, they were unable to resist and were forced to retire. Though forced by the unexpectedness of the attack and the vigour of the pursuit to abandon most of his camping equipment, Standing-Buffalo deployed his men so as to protect the women and children and, under cover of darkness, the Sissetons escaped from the scene of carnage. It was a masterful retreat.

During the same night Inkpaduta joined with a large body of Tetons who had, by then, crossed the river; they believed themselves strong enough to attack and destroy Sibley's army. Among the Teton warriors were Chief Gall, Black Moon and Sitting-Bull.

The Sioux were repulsed in the battle of Buffalo Lake (July 26th). Having attacked again at Stoney Lake, on the 28th, the Indians were met by a heavy fire and had to withdraw.

Retiring with the Tetons up on the Missouri, the hostile Indians under Inkpaduta were attacked by General Sully, on September 3rd, at White Stone Hill. Three hundred Sioux were killed and as many were captured.

The following year, on July 28th, General Sully delivered the final blow to the combined hostile forces, consisting of Santee, Yanktonai, and some northern Teton, at Killdeer Mountain, on the Little Missouri.

The Santee treaties were abrogated by Congress, on February 16, 1863, and the Minnesota reservations forfeited. In the spring of 1863, some two thousand Sioux were taken from the State of Minnesota and removed to a new reservation on the Upper Missouri, above Fort Randall.

### **Standing-Buffalo Flees to Canada**

After the battle of the Big Mound, the Sissetons spent the winter of 1863-4 in the rough country north of Devil's Lake, near Canadian territory. It was a pathetic and pitiful little band of Indians, heartsick and weary, that now turned their backs on the homeland they loved and planned their escape to a strange country.

The party of refugees retired to the north into the region of the Turtle Mountains, however, as in those days the international boundary had not yet been clearly defined, it is impossible to ascertain whether the Sissetons' refuge was actually within British territory.

In March of 1864, Standing-Buffalo was camping on the banks of the Missouri, along with a great number of other refugees from Minnesota: the bands of Holy Bear, Red Dog, Black Moon and Waanatan. There were eight hundred lodges in the camp at that time. The chiefs of the Sioux sent a message to Governor-in-Chief A. G. Dallas, of the Hudson's Bay Company, asking "whether they ought to make peace with the Americans or not, and expressing an intention of coming to pay a visit in the spring."

On receipt of this message, Dallas wrote Major General Sibley, advising him of the overtures made by the Sioux chiefs. Then Dallas replied to the chiefs, advising them to endeavour to make peace with the Americans who had assured him that they were willing to be friends with all the Sioux who were not actually guilty of murder. He stated further that if the Sioux did not make peace, the Americans intended to pursue and make war upon them with a large force in the summer.

Having received this reply, Standing-Buffalo decided to cross the border and to seek refuge in British territory.

On many occasions previous to the outbreak, Standing-Buffalo had visited Fort Ellice on the Assiniboine River. This fort was in British territory.

Early in July, 1862, Standing-Buffalo had come to an agreement with the Crees and Saulteux, at a place somewhere on the Souris River, south of the Moose Mountain, probably in United States territory. A solemn peace was declared, and gifts were exchanged. This treaty explains why Standing-Buffalo was not afraid to enter the Cree and Saulteux country north of the boundary.

Having camped near Portage-la-Prairie in the spring of 1864, Standing-Buffalo expressed a wish to meet the Governor-in-Chief at Fort Garry. Governor MacTavish, of the Province of Assiniboia came down to Portage-la-Prairie to interview Standing Buffalo and endeavoured to dissuade the Indians from visiting the heart of the settlement. The refugees numbered three thousand; they were divided into four bands under the leadership of Standing-Buffalo, Turning Thunder, Waanatan, and Leaf.<sup>2</sup>

### **Standing-Buffalo at Fort Garry**

The Sioux chiefs decided that a delegation should again interview the Governor, this time at Fort Garry. They hoped to induce the Hudson's Bay Company to re-open trade with them, as they had no market for their furs. They needed many articles which they could no longer obtain from the Americans, owing to the recent hostilities. Another purpose of the proposed mission was to ask why permission had been granted to the American soldiers to cross the line in the previous winter. The Sioux felt that having done nothing wrong, they did not deserve to be harshly treated.

Standing-Buffalo intended to bring to Fort Garry only a few delegates, but as it happened, all the Sioux—men, women and children and even the dogs—came along. They did not do any damage on the way nor steal anything; however, they gleaned from the harvest fields and begged for food as they went along. A number of the Sioux arrived at Fort Garry on August 27th and within the next few days most of the others encamped near the Fort.

A short distance from the settlement (beyond Deer's Head) there were four hundred and fifty lodges of another Sioux band who had not yet visited Fort Garry. These Indians had been in an engagement with American troops under General Sully, in which twenty of them had been killed. They had taken refuge in Canada through fear. They explained their flight from the United States thus: "We are not able to fight the soldiers, for their guns are longer than our arms."

While they were at Fort Garry, the Sioux, together with the Saulteux, spent their time in idleness: dancing, drumming and juggling day and night. To support themselves, they begged supplies in the settlement. The Sioux refugees had horses and guns, and were daubed with war paint. The settlers entertained fears that a clash might occur between the Sioux and the Saulteux. A long-standing enmity existed between the two tribes. Much liquor was being illegally sold to them. Thus it could easily happen that while they were intoxicated some trifling incident would lead to an outbreak of serious violence.

On August 30th, the Sioux chiefs had a public audience with Governor McTavish. The speakers were, first, Waanatan, and then, Running-Bear, a Sisseton. The burden of their speech was as follows:

"We have here in our camp sixteen medals given to us by our fathers and grand-fathers, and we bring them back to the place where our grand-fathers got them. They told us that whenever we wanted anything we must come and show these medals to the white people, and from them we would find 'life'. Now we find our people spoke the truth. We are very anxious to hear from our Mother, the Queen; we want to know if she has any words for us, and whether she can help us or not, now that we have been driven from our hunting grounds and we wish to know if there are any troops here to keep the road open between us and you."

Governor McTavish replied that he had no means of giving relief and that it was no use for them to seek it. All they could expect was permission to barter with the traders on the plains. If they committed no acts of violence in the ter-

ritory, the traders would treat them as they did the other Indians. The Governor said he was displeased that they had come to Fort Garry contrary to his advice.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards the Sioux went away from Fort Garry. Being on the verge of starvation, they stole corn, potatoes and wheat from the fields. Many of the young men stole horses and cows, and, breaking into houses, took tools and other articles. The Sioux also tried to recover some of the children who had been given away by the rebels to the white settlers.

During the next two years the Sioux under Standing-Buffalo (Sisseton), including quite a number of Wahpetons, seemed to have wandered back and forth across the undefined boundary in pursuit of the buffalo. The followers of Standing-Buffalo were continually diminishing, as each time they crossed into United States territory, a number remained there. These latter joined other bands which roamed from Devil's Lake in the east as far west as Fort Peck in Montana.

### Second Visit to Fort Garry

In 1866, Standing-Buffalo again visited Fort Garry, requesting a supply of food, ammunition and guns. Chief Factor Clare, of the Hudson's Bay Company, advised him to return to his people and to prevail upon them to surrender to the Americans. He assured him that, from the correspondence which had passed between him and the military authorities at Fort Abercrombie, he could promise the Indians kind treatment and forgiveness, if they returned home peacefully. Chief Factor Clare communicated with the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, asking their help in influencing the Sioux to return to their home in the United States.

As the Sioux were quietly leaving Fort Garry on their way back to Portage, they were attacked by a band of Red Lake Saulteux. Four Sioux Indians were killed and the remainder turned to flee for their lives. Fortunately a party of settlers, seeing this uncalled for attack, rode to the scene and stopped the slaughter. The Council, fearing that the Sioux might seek assistance and retaliate on the Saulteux, authorized the formation among the settlers of an armed body comprising fifty to a hundred men, for the purpose of preventing the return of the Sioux to the settlement.

Following the course of the Souris River, the Sioux moved westward towards the Wood Mountain area, still in pursuit of the now dwindling buffalo.

### **Death of Standing-Buffalo**

A few years later, Standing-Buffalo was camping in the Weyburn district in Saskatchewan. His aged father and mother and most of his relatives died of smallpox. Unable to leave the burial ground that contained the remains of so many of his dear ones, he remained there for some time. Standing-Buffalo had three wives. During the epidemic, his relatives were warned not to visit the lodge where a great number of children were kept in isolation. Nevertheless, a cousin of his visited the "tipi" and brought the fatal disease to most of the children. The youngest wife of Standing-Buffalo, unable to bear the loss of her children, committed suicide by drinking poison which had been set aside to kill coyotes.

Having lost his youngest and favorite wife, Standing-Buffalo, to console himself, decided to go on the warpath. In a hand to hand fight with a tribe, called by the Indians "Hahatonwanna" (possibly the Crow Indians), he was slain, his body pierced with many arrows. This took place in United States territory.

Intending to prevent the body of his father from falling into the hands of the enemy and being scalped, the son of the dead chief rushed to where the corpse had fallen, lifted it upon his horse and fled with it.

Thus passed away a great chief, noted for his pacific and loyal attitude to the United States.

The large following of Standing-Buffalo was disbanded. Many Sissetons and Wahpetons remained with the Mdewankantonwans and Wahpekutes who were already living in the Northwest Territories. Others returned to Devil's Lake in the United States and established themselves in that area.

Many Wahpetons and Sissetons used to go westward in Canadian territory on hunting expeditions. Their attitude was always peaceful. Camps were established along the Assiniboine, Qu'Appelle and Souris Rivers.



A large camp, perhaps of two hundred lodges, had trekked to the Wood Mountain region. This camp, under the leadership of a Sisseton chieftain, White Eagle (Wambdiska), was still at Wood Mountain when the first Teton refugees arrived in the fall of 1876.

<sup>1</sup> Dallas to Fraser, March 16, 1864, in Papers Rel. to the Sx. Indians. Doc. 6. (P.A.C. 401).

<sup>2</sup> Hill, History of Manitoba, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Nor' Wester, Sept. 1, 1864.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE TETONS DEFEND THEIR ANCESTRAL DOMAINS

While the Santee Sioux of Minnesota had already been herded into reservations and were fretting under the restrictions of the whites, far to the West, on the treeless prairies of the present states of Nebraska, the Dakotas and Montana, the free, independent bands of Teton Sioux were roaming in their incessant chase for the buffalo.

The Tetons had separated from the main band of Sioux, possibly three or four hundred years previously. Their mode of life gradually changed and they acquired characteristics of their own. The language itself was modified and became more sonorous and euphonious. The Tetons were typical buffalo hunters and horsemen. Fiercely independent, they subdued and repulsed all neighboring tribes and established themselves on a vast domain in the central western prairies.

As the years went on, the Tetons, owing probably to location and the great change in their lives and habits, practically became divorced from their parent stock and there was only infrequent communication between them and their Eastern relatives, who still remained forest hunters and dwellers. They had their own form of communal life adapted to their surroundings. They negotiated their individual treaties with the United States Government.

#### Treaty of Laramie

In 1825 the Tetons had signed a treaty of amity with the Americans. Subsequent to the signing of that treaty traders and trappers peacefully invaded the country. After the arrival of the traders a dreadful epidemic of smallpox carried off in a very short time some twenty-five thousand of the Indians who lived in the great Western plains. The Sioux scattered at the first alarm and thus saved themselves.

The Cheyennes and Sioux made peace with each other. Resenting the inroads of the whites, they attacked the white trappers.

Year after year forts were erected in the Indian country to protect the Oregon Trail. In 1847 the Mormons marched across the Indian country to Utah; in 1849 the gold rush to California took place. Along the Oregon Trail the buffalo were fast disappearing. A plague again swept through the Indian population; nearly half of it perished. The immigrants travelling across Indian country wanted to dispossess the Indians of their patrimony. The newcomers knew nothing, and cared less, about the feelings and customs of the natives. Being surrounded by unfriendly Indian tribes, they asked for protection from the Government. The Indians resented the way the white settlers treated them.

In the fall of 1851 the Indian Nations who had not yet formally pledged allegiance to the United States, were assembled for the signing of the great Treaty of Fort Laramie. This treaty was a great event in Teton Sioux history. Representatives of all the Teton tribes took part in the proceedings, including Sitting Bull.

In the treaty, the Tetons, desirous of living at peace with their new neighbours, and hoping for the advantages of the trade, had agreed, much against their wishes, to the white man's demand to be allowed to build roads and forts in their country. When the Treaty Commissioners asked the Sioux to elect one chief who would represent them all, the Sioux offered a leader for each band as they were too widely distributed to obey one single person. However, the Commissioner took upon himself to nominate a chief. He appointed Stirring Bear, who was very astonished at the task imposed upon him. The Indians knew very well that such a nomination could not stand, but, at least, the Treaty was signed, and, having received presents the Indians dispersed into the prairie. The treaty brought nothing but further trouble, as Congress amended it and cut down substantially the amount of money promised the Indians.

Peace on the Platte River did not last very long after the incident which took place in 1853; a party under Lieut. H. B.

Fleming of the United States Army killed several Oglala Tétons. Further injustices and exactions by the immigrants incensed the Indians; the United States garrisons at the Forts, anxious for adventure, stalked the Indians and attacked them on the least pretext.

To avenge themselves, the Oglalas attacked and killed Officer Grattan and thirty-nine of his men. Colonel William S. Harney was sent to punish the Sioux; not being able to find the band that killed Grattan, he attacked the first Sioux band he could find, killing a number of innocent Indians, destroying their camp, and carrying off seventy women and children. These wanton attacks were repeated regularly on the plains; as it was nearly impossible for the troops to find the hostile Indians, the soldiers almost always raided the innocent and friendly bands.

Thus, twice at Fort Laramie, again when Harney attacked Little Thunder's band at Ash Hollow in 1855, at the Sand Creek Battle in 1864, at the battle of the Washita in 1868, in the Baker Fight in 1870, and on the Powder River on March 17th, 1876, innocent Indians were punished for the rash deeds of some young braves in quest for glory and adventure.

### **Repercussions of the Minnesota Outbreak**

Among the Teton bands of Sioux, the news of the Minnesota Outbreak of 1862 caused a great deal of animosity against the white settlers. The uprising did not affect the Western Tétons until the fall of 1863, a year after the outbreak, at which time the Sioux renewed their outrages along the great overland route which crossed their hunting grounds. They attacked the immigrants, the stage coach passengers and the telegraph operators.

The United States authorities did not believe at the time that the Tétons were organizing a mass uprising. They thought that most of these acts were perpetrated under the influence of liquor sold to the Indians by unscrupulous traders. They also believed that the tribes themselves would punish the Indians guilty of these crimes.

Emboldened as the Indians were by the lack of reprisals and believing the Government of the United States to be

powerless to chastise them on account of the Civil War, the outrages were multiplied and culminated in open war. The marauding parties were under the leadership of Spotted Tail, a most formidable warrior of the Brule Band.

At that time the Oglalas, west of the Black Hills, had no part in this guerilla warfare as they had rich buffalo ranges and therefore had no occasion to trouble the white settlers.

A number of Santee rebels had fled to the Teton Territory after the Minnesota Outbreak. Among them was Wapahasa (Red Bonnet). Present also were "Cut-Head" Yanktons and many others under the treacherous Inkpuduta. These rebels joined forces with the independent Tetons.

## **The Red-Cloud War**

With the exploitation of the gold mines in Idaho and Montana the Montana trail was built. It connected with the California trail near Fort Laramie and proceeded west of the Black Hills, through the head waters of the Tongue, Powder and Big-Horn Rivers. As this road ran directly through the great buffalo ranges of the Sioux, Red-Cloud, Chief of the Bad-Faces clan of the Oglala, strongly opposed its construction.

For many years Red-Cloud kept the Western plains under his domination. Red-Cloud's fame was equal to, if not greater, than that of Sitting Bull. Although he was not a chief's son, it was due to his personal qualities and superior intelligence that he attained to the leadership of a great number of Tetons. Very few Indians of the plains have acquired a reputation equal to his.

With Red Cloud was another famous warrior named Crazy Horse.

Having failed in his protest against the opening of the road at Fort Laramie, Red-Cloud gathered a large party of Oglalas and Cheyennes and resolved to attack the construction party at Powder River. General Carrington was sent to the Powder River to protect the Montana Trail; Red-Cloud followed him and began to hang about the Fort Reno Post, rendering life dangerous for anyone venturing out of the Fort, with the result that all traffic along the trail had to be abandoned.



**STANDING BUFFALO**

(courtesy Miss M. L. Standing Buffalo.)



On Dec. 21st, 1866, Red Cloud unsuccessfully attacked Fort Phil Kearny. However, the American authorities decided it would be wiser to abandon the Fort and withdraw the soldiers. Thus Red Cloud achieved his purpose.

Through the efforts of Father de Smet, S.J., the Indians were pacified.

### **Treaty of 1868**

Another treaty was signed at Fort Laramie in 1868 between the United States and the Great Sioux chiefs Spotted-Tail of the Brules, Man-Afraid-of-his-His of the Oglalas, One-Horn of the Miniconju, Two-Bears of the Yanktonai and Black-Bull of the Oglala. Red-Cloud would not sign a treaty until the forts were actually abandoned and the road closed up. His refusal to sign caused great anxiety among the military authorities who felt he did not intend to abide by the terms of the Treaty.

The signing of the Treaty of 1868 was a virtual admission by the United States Government that it was unable to secure the submission of the Tetons. Although a number of them had outwardly submitted to live in the reservations, most of them were still roaming freely in the Powder River country; living comfortably on the buffalo and other game.

### **Sitting Bull**

The Hunkpapa tribe of the Tetons had never submitted to any authority. Black-Moon was the acknowledged chief of the band. His nephew, Sitting-Bull, who had succeeded his father in the chieftainship of his clan, was fast becoming prominent and influential as chief and medicine man.

Sitting-Bull, born in 1831, was to be a great warrior and chief. In fact he was destined to become one of the greatest figures in the history of the Sioux nation. He was a man of short stature, with a deep chest, and presented a most striking appearance. He had been elected to the position of war chief of the Tetons in a council held in 1867, near Lake Traverse in Dakota Territory. Through his brilliant strategy and his undaunted spirit of independence he exemplified the spirit of resistance to the white man's oppression so much that his name will be handed down in history as that of one of the greatest Indian chiefs of the West.



The Hunkpapas claimed the Yellowstone River and the Black Hills as their own country; they had taken it away by force from the Crow Indians in 1822. This claim was not disputed until 1871; until then, the white settlers had never interfered with this part of the country.

In that year, the Northern Pacific Railroad sent surveyors to determine a route for their road on the south bank of the Yellowstone. When the party came, the Hunkpapas made a vigorous protest and resumed their hostilities. In 1872, several hundred Sioux, under the leadership of Black-Moon, attacked Major Baker's command, which was protecting the surveying party. In October of the same year the Hunkpapas twice attacked Fort Abraham Lincoln. This fort had been established along with Fort Keogh, to protect the railway line. At this time there were more than a thousand hostile Sioux warriors under Black-Moon and Sitting-Bull. The following year, owing to the scarcity of food in the Yellowstone country, the Tetons came down to the neighbourhood of Fort Laramie and of the Black Hills. They approached the American authorities for guns and ammunition for purposes of hunting, offering to pay for these articles. They were refused, until they had promised not to oppose the construction of the railroad. However, Crazy-Horse and Black-Moon continued to drive away the surveyors from the Yellowstone country because they were entering Indian lands without permission and in direct violation of the Treaty of Fort Laramie.

### **The Black Hills**

From the year 1875 there were persistent reports that there was gold in the Black Hills. A few years later, an expedition under Colonel Dodge, which included a number of scientists, was sent to the Black Hills and spent all summer exploring the country. The Tetons had never given their permission and they were greatly incensed at this new violation of the Treaty. A member of the expedition, Colonel George Custer, made an enthusiastic report upon the beauty, the fertility and resources of the country. This report, perfectly calculated to cause an epidemic of gold fever, accomplished its purpose; within two months eleven thousand miners rushed to the Black Hills gold fields. Custer used his influence with

the territorial governor to obtain the surrender of the Black Hills from the Indians.

General Ulysses Grant was then the President of the United States. He had been swept into power on a wave of military enthusiasm. He viewed with alarm the continued hostility of the Sioux and the great number of warriors they had gathered. At a cabinet meeting in November, 1875, it was decided to send an ultimatum to the Sioux to the effect that if they did not disperse at once they would be treated as enemies of the State and that an army would be sent against them.

The Indians would not agree to relinquish their title to the Black Hills for any sum the Government was willing to pay. In the last weeks of 1875 instructions were issued for the dispersal of the Indians and a month's delay was given them. This order was in direct violation of the Treaties and, moreover, could not have been complied with, as the snows of winter lay deep on the ground. It was physically impossible for the Indians to travel any distance in the winter, so they took up winter quarters in the valleys of the Rosebud and the Little Big Horn Rivers, and abided the issue. An attempt was made to conduct a winter campaign but it was found impossible, the expedition was postponed until spring.

### **Military expeditions against the Sioux**

Three armed expeditions were sent against the Sioux in the spring of 1876; one from Wyoming, under General Crook, one from the west, under General Gibbon, and a third, under Generals Terry and Custer, from Fort Abraham Lincoln to the east. These three forces were to converge upon the Indians and bring them into submission. There seems to have been little unity or co-ordination in the general plan of the campaign. General Crook, coming in from Wyoming with the object of driving the Indians out of the Little Big Horn, where they would be intercepted by Custer and Gibbon, appeared in May on the Rosebud River before the other troops were ready for the junction. On June 17th, 1876, Sitting-Bull, with his Hunkpapas warriors and Crazy Horse with the Oglalas, met Crook in the Valley of the Rosebud and inflicted on him a sharp defeat. The Sioux drove Crook and his men back to the river,

where they re-embarked on the steamboats and returned to their headquarters.

Unaware of Crook's defeat, Gibbon and Terry were advancing with their infantry, with the intention of intercepting the fugitives. With Terry was General Custer at the head of the Seventh United States Cavalry; Terry intended Custer should sweep down on the Indians with his mounted troops while Crook was assailing them at the other end of the camp; Gibbons' soldiers were to exterminate the fugitives.

Such was the position of the United States Army on June 24th, 1876, the eve of the day on which the Sioux were to inflict on that army a spectacular defeat. The engagement was to be known as the "Custer Massacre", but a more fitting title would have been the "Custer Battle", for the Sioux were fighting a just war of self-defence against unjust aggression.

### General Custer

The dashing assault of General Custer, which came to such a disastrous end at the hands of the Sioux, had thrown the spot-light of his history upon him. Custer was a cavalry leader who had seen brilliant service during the Civil War. He had been ordered west in 1873 to protect the miners and traders who were swarming into the Black Hills. He had seen the terrible raids made by Sitting-Bull and by Rain-in-the-Face on the white trespassers. He knew the Western country well, and his bravery was only equalled by his desire of achieving renown at any price.

On the eve of the Custer Battle there were gathered in the valley of the Little Big Horn nearly six thousand Tetons who had united to take a stand against the American armies which were invading their native land and threatening to destroy their nation.

The Teton forces comprised: the Oglalas, under Crazy-Horse (four hundred to five hundred lodges); the Hunkpapas, under Gall, Black-Moon and Sitting-Bull, (three hundred lodges); the Minikonju, under Fast-Bull (four hundred to five hundred lodges); the Sansarcs, under Fast-Bear, (four hundred to five hundred lodges); the Blackfeet, under Scabby-Head, and the allied Cheyennes, under Ice-Bear, (together

three hundred to five hundred lodges). There was also a group of Sioux from the Minnesota, viz., some thirty Santees and Yanktonais, under the notorious Inkpaduta.

The great warriors Red Cloud and Spotted Tail had remained at their Agencies, as they did not want to continue hostilities against the United States Government.

The two main leaders of the Sioux were, on that day, Crazy-Horse and Gall. The Sioux had great confidence in their own strength. On June 17th, 1876, they had won a great victory on the Rosebud river, over General Crook, despite the fact that they had been practically encircled by the American Army.

A most dramatic picture of the Custer Battle is that written by a Canadian Indian of Wood Mountain, John LeCaine (Woonkapi-sni), who tells the traditional Indian version in these words:

### Custer's Day

"On the eve of Custer's Day, on the Little Big Horn river,  
The Sioux warriors danced to drums into day, late,  
A war dance, a victory dance it was, singing, predicting Custer's  
fate,

A Victory dance . . . for just eight days ago on the Rosebud  
River

Twelve hundred Sioux stopped Custer, Reno and Crook  
And others, numbering three thousand and more, I am told.

"Sleepy and tired, loitered the Sioux by his lodge on Custer's  
Day.

Standing on three legs dozed his war pony before the tipi door.  
Not a soul moved about, save an odd child here and there at play,  
The great Sioux camp stood silent, like thousand of lodge  
graves,

Even the gods of wind seemed asleep somewhere in this still,  
On the Little Big Horn river, that memorable day.

"The officers at the Council Lodge, too, showed nowhere,  
Not a single official scout was dispatched. Even till noon  
Not even a stray wanderer left camp. Half the day was gone,

Even the ever fearing old warriors failed this day, somehow,  
To climb the hills to see what danger lurked near . . .  
A lazy, idle and careless day it was for all, on Custer's Day.

"As mid-day approached, a horseman was seen riding in.  
Listless, wet and dripping foam, the pony was halted before a  
tipi,

A cry went up that travelled like lightning swiftness  
From the north to the south ends of that sleepy valley;  
'White man! . . . White men have come!' was the cry.  
In the twinkling of an eye, life swarmed in the valley.

"Half-stampeding travois ponies milled in the dust madly,  
While mothers and children, with ropes in hand, coaxed  
pleadingly,  
While Custer in pomp and glory rode the ridge proudly,  
Cool, steady warriors stood pointing to their belov'd the way  
to escape,  
While like an eagle, he watched every move of his prey.  
At last a great cloud of dust rose, racing travois trail it was . . .

"Then, from down the valley, came Major Reno, to drive the  
Sioux  
Into the arms of Custer, who blocked the enemies' way,  
'Custer, loving mothers, wives and children must live, you  
know,  
Even if walls of fire challenge us here today;  
For there is love and duty, besides honour and fame for man.'  
Thus had spoken Reno, urging Custer to fight valiantly.

So, mad with fear for their beloved ones' lives, the soldiers  
strove.

"But the Sioux made Reno run and cry for life . . .  
While Custer stood upon a hill, waiting for Reno's drive,  
But Reno did not come. Instead came the Sioux.  
Like the calm before the storm paused the Sioux before Custer;  
Four times a war chief gave the war cry; then Custer's bugle  
sounded.

"Then began Custer's battle: a battle sadly strange and short,  
No Sioux did Custer see below him to battle,

Nothing save a swirling cloud of dust from which came ponies'  
snorts,

A thick, milling, cloud of dust, that neither rose nor lowered;  
Custer, surprised, stunned, tried in vain to think a way ...  
He cursed the calm, the dust and the Sioux.

"Like swallows frolicking in an dout of a dense fog,  
Warriors moved; it all seemed a maddening dream.  
Straight and steady stood Custer, and his heart was strong;  
Like a mountain top above a cloud, Custer was a target,  
Musket balls rained towards him, a deadly stream,  
... A scene that one can never try to forget.

"A spark of hope; down the valley he looked but Reno was  
nowhere,  
Custer's heart weakened, he called to his men, he ran for life.  
It was of no use. He retreated to the hill, his grave;  
But he never reached that hill, he fell dead, freed from strife,  
For White-Clay-Tracks' stone club smashed his skull ...  
And so fell the great Custer; leader of the braves."<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to this narrative we have many a gaudy description which does not begin to compare with the simple grandeur of the foregoing composition.

By June 25th, 1876, Custer, with two hundred and twenty-five men, moved towards the large Indian encampment on the Little Big Horn River. Before contacting the Indians, he sent a small detachment (112 men) under Major Reno and Captain Benteen to create a diversion by directly attacking the Sioux camp, promising to support them in that action.

As Reno advanced into the Sioux camp, he was met by a vast horde of Indians, lost many of his men, and was driven to seek refuge in the hills. It was due to Benteen's presence of mind that Reno's detachment escaped destruction.

In the meantime, Custer, with two hundred and four men, disappeared into the hills, following a long, circuitous route to the rear of the Indian camp.

Indian traditions have it that Custer came in over the hills with his flags flying and the band playing. As Custer came down into the valley he reached a small tableland on one side

of which were numerous ravines. His men were now worn out after the long ride through the hills. Moreover, they had been continuously in the saddle the previous four or five days, and that too on short rations.

A number of Sioux warriors, under Chief Gall, went up the ravine and placed themselves behind Custer and his men, while Crazy-Horse and his braves hid themselves under the bank of the tableland. Crazy-Horse stormed the troops from the front, and Chief Gall, came in from behind. Thus the white soldiers were caught between two fires. In an hour's time there was not a blue-coated soldier left alive in the valley. Custer had been killed by a bullet. The battle took place about five o'clock in the afternoon.

Disobedience to his superior's orders was the direct cause of the annihilation of Custer's command. Before the battle, Custer informed his officers that he wished the glory of the day to belong exclusively to his own men and that, consequently, he would attack and annihilate the Sioux before the arrival of the main body of American troops.

There is no indication that Sitting Bull took an actual part in the battle.

On the day following, the Sioux, who had apparently received word of the advance of Terry and Gibbon, struck camp and moved away to a stronger position in the Big Horn mountains. They had no illusions regarding the retribution that would soon follow. Gibbon's scouts were the first to find evidence of the tragedy. Custer and all his men were lying dead on the bare hillside. A great number of soldiers had been killed in hand to hand fighting and bore evidence of having been killed by war clubs. Evidently the diversion caused by the Custer battle had given Reno and Benteen time to retire to positions that were fairly easy to defend. But on the third day they were relieved by the arrival of Gibbon and Terry with their forces. Custer's dead having been buried, the wounded were conveyed by steamboats and returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln.

### **Pursuit**

Having taken position on the mouth of the Big Horn, Terry called upon General Sheridan for reinforcements. As

the soldiers raced up and down the Tongue, Powder and Rosebud country, looking for the hostiles, the Indians skillfully slipped away and avoided any engagements. They knew the country well and it was easy for them to elude the white soldiers. By September 5th, General Crook admitted that he could not pursue the hostiles any further. On September 14th, Crazy-Horse fell upon Crook's army at Slim Buttes and forced him to retire to the Black Hills. In the meantime, Black Moon, Gall, Sitting-Bull and others, accompanied by one hundred and fifty warriors, crossed the Yellowstone and fled to the north.

By treaties made on Sept. 23rd and Oct. 27th of that year the Tetons surrendered the Black Hills country.

In October, Terry disarmed the Indians at the Standing Rock and Cheyenne agencies, while Crook subdued those at the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies.

General Miles went scouting north of the Yellowstone in the vicinity of Fort Peck. On the 21st of October, he had a meeting with Sitting-Bull and other chiefs. Sitting-Bull asked for peace, for the privileges of trade and for ammunition. During the conferences that took place on that occasion, Sitting-Bull maintained a haughty attitude, speaking like a conqueror, although his manner was always dignified and courteous. Impatient to end the matter quickly, Miles took a threatening attitude. Deciding that Sitting-Bull wanted to fight, he ended the conference abruptly. A skirmish took place immediately and the fighting continued till the next day. Sitting-Bull abandoned his camp and the Sioux were pursued by the troops. A number of Indians surrendered, but Black-Moon, Sitting-Bull and Gall escaped and fled towards the Canadian boundary. Canada lay only two hundred miles due north, but Sitting-Bull was not to reach Canada till seven months later, in May of 1877.

Although a party under Black-Moon immediately went north towards the Canadian border, Sitting-Bull moved up and down the Yellowstone from the Big Horn to the Powder River and eastward during most of the winter. On December 7th, 1876, and again on December 18th, Lieutenant F. D. Baldwin overtook Sitting-Bull's camp of one hundred and ninety lodges and drove it south of the Missouri near the mouth of Bark



Creek. There, located in an impregnable position, Sitting-Bull waited for Baldwin's attack. After Baldwin struck on December 18th, Sitting-Bull went up river to the Big Horn, to seek the help of his friend, Crazy-Horse, but as he could not find him, he turned northward again.

The winter of 1876-77 was a very hard one and there was a great deal of snow. Game could not be found. Sitting-Bull's party tried to feed on the frozen carcasses of dead buffalo but as some of them had been poisoned, either wilfully or not, those who ate them became very ill and the band had to resort to eating their horses which were dying of cold and exposure. Many Sioux Indians died during that terrible winter.

In the spring, as they were camping in the Missouri bottoms, a flood washed away their camp, and as they could not find any food, they had to resume their trek northward where they were hoping to receive assistance and help. It was a weary and forlorn band of stragglers that dragged themselves across the Canadian boundary in May, 1877.

<sup>1</sup> N. Dakota Hist. Society Coll., Vol. I, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> The Indian informants all agree that Reno struck at the Hunkpapa camp. They affirm that Sitting Bull did not fight Custer's men, but attacked Reno's party. Indian losses are estimated at 63, many of which were caused by the Indians' own arrows. The Sioux had very little ammunition when Custer attacked them. Among the dead braves were: White Bull and Fast Bear (brothers), Buffalo-Standing-Up, Elk-Standing-Up, Hawk, Kansu, White Eagle, Ktepila, Ice (a Cheyenne); the number of Indians wounded was around 20.

## CHAPTER VII.

### SITTING-BULL'S BAND FLEES TO CANADA, 1876

The Hunkpapa band of Tetons, under Chiefs Gall and Sitting-Bull, knew the country to the north of them as the "land of the Great Mother". Many Hunkpapas used to go north, as far as the Saskatchewan river, on their hunting expeditions.

Sitting-Bull, a few years previous to his disastrous struggle for independence, had visited Crow-Foot, chief of the Blackfeet, a most powerful tribe. The Blackfoot camp was, at the time, in the Cypress Hills, in British territory. Crow-Foot and Sitting-Bull smoked together and made a peace agreement. Sitting-Bull's intention was to have Crow-Foot join with his tribe in a war against the United States, but Crow-Foot wisely refused and sent Sitting-Bull back, loaded with the usual presents.

This may have taken place in 1868, as Cowie, in his book, "Company of Adventurers", mentions the presence of Sitting-Bull in the Cypress Hills in that year. The Hunkpapas were then anxious that the Canadian Government should give them permission to settle permanently in the country and assign them a more or less definite territory for hunting. But the Canadian Indians did not wish to see any strangers encroach on their hunting grounds.

A delegation was sent to Fort Qu'Appelle, in the district of Assiniboia, in 1873, with a view of opening trade relations with British fur companies. Mr. Cowie, then factor at Fort Qu'Appelle, did not want to invite or encourage the Tetons to come into the Crees' country contrary to the wishes of the latter. The delegation was peaceful and friendly; one of the spokesmen, in an effort to persuade Mr. Cowie of his good will, said to him: "If we had had any bad intentions, I could have killed you many a time when, five years ago you used to sit there at night, writing."

The Sioux added that he was a scout, looking for a country where the Teton Sioux could be safe from attack on the part of the American troops.

In those days there was a large number of Saulteux in the vicinity of the Qu'Appelle lakes. They had long viewed with resentment the presence of the refugee Minnesota Sioux under White-Cap and Standing-Buffalo. These unwelcome intruders had been scarcely tolerated. The Saulteux chiefs feared that they could not restrain their own men if another incursion of Teton Sioux was to increase the number of foreign Indians on Canadian ground.

On this occasion a number of friendly Metis, under Alec Fisher, travelled a day's journey from the Fort to meet them, escorted them into it, guarded it during their visit, and finally escorted them to a safe distance on their return journey.

The Sioux had sent very able speakers to act as ambassadors. The orators went back to ancient history to prove that they had always helped the British against the Americans and showed a silver medal of King George in evidence thereof. They also mentioned the friendly overtures which had been made to them by the Earl of Selkirk, in 1814, when he sought their assistance against the Northwest Company.

As the supplies in the Fort were scarcely sufficient to provide for the requirements of the Canadian Indians and Metis, Mr. Cowie found it impossible to trade with the Teton Sioux. He insisted that the delegates should make peace with the Americans on the Missouri, pointing out that the steamboats could deliver trading goods much more cheaply than he could supply them at Fort Qu'Appelle. In their answer, the delegates boasted that if the Metis did not go against them they could subdue the Crees and Saulteux. They also said they could never become friendly with the Americans and that they were looking for safety on the northern side of the boundary. They would not take Mr. Cowie's refusal as final. In leaving, they thanked him for his kindness in entertaining them and trying to prevent trouble between them and the Saulteux.<sup>2</sup>

Whether the Hunkpapas were then planning to escape in a body to the land of the Great Mother, cannot be ascertained. It seems plausible that the Red River disturbances of 1869-70

were known to them, and that they played with the idea of joining in a general Indian and Half-breed uprising against the British settlers.

The Red River Metis had attempted to induce the Sioux along the Missouri to join in an expedition to capture the Forts Qu'Appelle and Ellice, saying that, with the ammunition taken from these Forts, they could raid the settlements of Portage and Fort Garry.

It is probable that the Fenian agents in the United States were responsible for this daring plan, as part of their program of opposition to the British in the Red River Colony.

However, this threat did not materialize. In the fall of 1872, a delegation of Teton visited Fort Garry. They were not received by the Governor and they departed highly incensed.

The Red River Metis, under Riel and Lepine, were opposed to the Fenian movement and would not co-operate with its agitators.

There was no real danger of the Sioux being instrumental in stirring up an uprising in Canada, but it was feared by the settlers at the time that the Sioux would go on the warpath, if any serious trouble arose in the Northwest Territories.

After the battle of the Little Big Horn, the Teton Sioux had disbanded. Each band of Teton went its own way. The Hunkpapas chose to flee to the north because they hoped to be able to renew their strength in a peaceful country.

The trade had died off in the United States, and the buffalo were leaving their usual ranges in the Big Horn region. It was impossible for the Teton to remain close together when they could not get a sufficient supply of food and ammunition. They were constantly pursued by the United States Army, and they could get no ammunition to defend themselves.

The hostile Teton had two ways of escape: (1) southwards to the land of the Spaniards, which was a long way off and unknown to the Sioux; (2) northwards to the land of the Grandmother (Queen Victoria), which was known to many of the older men who had hunted there. Many of the Sioux chiefs had silver medals of King George III, given to their

grandfathers for fighting the Americans and, on that account, felt they would receive aid and protection from the British.<sup>3</sup>

As early as May, 1876, Lieut.-Col. Richardson, of the United States Army, notified Assistant Commissioner A. G. Irvine, of the North West Mounted Police, to be on the lookout for possible incursions of the hostile Dakota and Montana Indians.<sup>4</sup> He warned him that the Indians might make Canadian soil a base for predatory and hostile operations against the United States. The place for which these escaping parties would make is supposed to be in the vicinity of Wood Mountain. However, only the Hunkpapa band actually planned to come into British territory.

### **Plans for Escape**

After the Little Big Horn battle, in the month of August, a French Halfbreed, named Gabriel Salomon, reported to Crozier at Fort Walsh, that a scout by the name of Laframboise had been at Sitting-Bull's camp. Sitting-Bull had told the scout that he did not intend to make war on the people of the north, that he found himself surrounded by the Americans "like an island in the middle of the sea", that he already had had a battle with the Americans and was undecided as to where he would go. At another time, Sitting-Bull said, "We can go nowhere without seeing the head of an American. Our land is small, it is like an island." Furthermore, Sitting-Bull told the Halfbreed that as soon as he put his foot across the line on Canadian soil he would bury the war hatchet. To quote Sitting-Bull: "We can find peace in the land of the Grandmother. We can sleep sound there, our women and children can lie down and feel safe. I don't understand why the Red Coats gave us and our country to the Americans. We are the Grandmother's children and when we go across the Medicine Road (the boundary) we shall bury the hatchet. My own grandfather told me the Red Coats were our people and good people and I must always trust them as friends."<sup>5</sup>

### **Black-Moon's Arrival**

During the summer of 1876, Sitting-Bull had sent a scout to Fort Qu'Appelle to obtain help, but his plea had not been answered and the scout had been sent back. However, by the fall of 1876, Black-Moon, a Hunkpapa chief, with fifty-two

lodges, had already crossed the line and taken refuge at Wood Mountain. A further arrival of fifty-seven lodges was recorded later in the fall. By the end of the year there were around five hundred men, one thousand women and fourteen hundred children in the camp. They possessed three thousand five hundred horses. This camp was said to adjoin White-Eagle's camp of one hundred and fifty lodges.

White Eagle was a Santee who had escaped to Canada after the Minnesota outbreak. He was to settle permanently, at a subsequent date, on the banks of the Assiniboine River, at the junction of the Oak River. White Eagle had been there for several years and had always observed the Canadian law.

The refugees comprised not only Black-Moon's fifty-two lodges of Hunkpapas, but also a number of other refugees from the Oglalas, Minikonju, Sihasapa (Blackfeet), Sansarcs, and Two-Kettle's bands of Tetons.

Upon the arrival of the Teton refugees, White Eagle opened a council with the refugee chiefs, namely Black-Moon, the Little-Knife, Long-Dog, and the Man-who-Crawls. He asked them if they knew they were in the Queen's country and they answered that they did. Having asked what they had come for, they replied that they had been driven from their homes by the Americans and had come to look over the conditions across the line. To White Eagle's question, "Do you intend to remain here till winter, and when spring comes, return to your country and make war," they answered in the negative. They said that they wished to remain permanently and prayed that he, White Eagle, would ask the Great Mother to have pity on them. They also requested small quantities of ammunition for hunting purposes. Inspector Walsh, of the North West Mounted Police, commanding at Fort Walsh, told them he would get in touch with J. L. Legare, a trader at Wood Mountain, and that he would allow them to trade with him. Walsh expected the Indians to remain at Wood Mountain that winter, as the buffalo were plentiful there and to the east.

On March 3rd, 1877, Inspector Walsh had visited a Yankton and Teton camp which was under leadership of Matowakan (Medicine Bear), in the Cypress Hills, west of Wood Mountain.

Medicine Bear was a Yankton who had come from Fort Peck; he was at the head of a camp of three hundred lodges. It is difficult to ascertain why Medicine Bear had taken refuge across the line. Probably he did not wish to be involved in the Teton struggle for independence. The Tetons were not decided as to whether they would stay with the Yanktons or join Black-Moon at Wood Mountain.\*

### **Sitting-Bull at the Cypress Hills**

In the month of May, 1877, it was reported that Sitting-Bull, and Four-Horns, his uncle, with one hundred and thirty-five lodges of the hostile Indians, had crossed the Canadian line and were moving along the White Mud River. The situation became exceedingly alarming, as Sitting-Bull was said to be accompanied by a great number of warriors with their wives and children. With his coming, the number of refugees had suddenly increased to nearly two thousand. As the buffalo herds were again on the move, the Indians were in great danger of starvation.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the refugees were in a very precarious position. They were surrounded by their hereditary enemies of the Canadian prairies—the Crees, Saulteux and Assiniboines. These Canadian Indians resented the presence of so many aliens on their hunting grounds. Close to them, in the west, was the powerful Blackfoot nation which was bitterly hostile towards the Sioux. Thus an Indian war was liable to break out at any moment.\*

When the news reached Fort Walsh that Sitting-Bull had crossed the line and was camping about thirty miles away, Major Walsh set out at once, with an escort of four men, and rode into the Sioux camp where he actually slept all night. This daring action won for him the respect of Sitting-Bull and his men. In the morning, Walsh held a council with the chiefs and informed Sitting-Bull in most unmistakable language that if he desired to remain on British soil he would have to obey the laws.\*

Although the refugee Sioux had never traded with the Canadian Halfbreeds, whom they called the Slota or "Grease people", and often had quarrels with them, when they came to the Canadian boundary they quickly arranged a truce. The

Sioux had previously made a defensive alliance with their ancient enemies, the Plains Crées, the Blackfeet and Assiniboines.

Many years before, Sitting-Bull had adopted an Assiniboine boy. This boy was named "Jumping-Bull" or "The Little Assiniboine". As soon as Sitting-Bull had crossed the Canadian line he contacted the Assiniboines. Jumping-Bull led him to their camp, introducing him to his cousin "Big Darkness" and other relatives. This was the first contact Sitting-Bull had with the Canadian Assiniboines.

Sitting-Bull was astonished and delighted with what he heard of the Red Coats from the Assiniboines. They told him that when a white man shot an Indian, the Red Coats would hang him, that their own chiefs handed over Indian criminals to the Red Coats for trial and that none of the Indian tribes of Canada would fight the Grandmother's soldiers. Sitting-Bull gave many horses to the Assiniboines as a present.<sup>10</sup>

Late in May, 1877, six young Sioux warriors, one of them Sitting-Bull's nephew, arrived at Fort Walsh. They were sent by Sitting-Bull to inform Inspector Walsh that there were three Americans in the Sioux camp. One of the Americans was a priest, the Very Rev. Abbot Martin, O.S.B., the other a scout of General Miles army, and the third an interpreter who had been in the Sioux camp for eight days. They had been arrested by Sitting-Bull who would not allow them to go until the Mounted Police arrived there. Commissioner Irvine and Inspector Walsh and two members of the Police accompanied the six Indians. Having travelled about fifty-five miles, they found the camp at a place called "the Holes", or "Buffalo Plains", an old battle ground of the Crées and Saulteux. The Sioux were annoyed at being followed by the Americans. Sitting-Bull refused to return to the United States, as he had no confidence that the Americans would keep their promises of amnesty.

At a council meeting, on June 2nd, Abbot Martin asked Sitting-Bull whether he would return or remain in Canada.

Before replying, Sitting-Bull turned to Commissioner Irvine and inquired: "Will the 'White Mother' (Queen Victoria) protect us, if we remain here?"



On receiving an affirmative reply from Irvine, Sitting-Bull turned to the Abbot and said: "What should I return for? To have my horses and arms taken away? What have the Americans to give me? They have no land. I have come to remain with the White Mother's children."

After the council, Commissioner Irvine had an interview with Abbot Martin, who showed him letters from General Ewing and J. J. Smith of the Indian Office in Washington. Apparently the Abbot had started out expecting to find Sitting-Bull somewhere in Montana, but had to follow his trail across the boundary. Irvine was informed that the U.S. delegates had simply come to persuade the Tetons to return to the Indian Agencies and to inform them of the terms of surrender. Irvine remained in the camp overnight and the refugees appeared very glad of his visit.

Late in the evening, Sitting-Bull visited Irvine in his tent; there he sat on the bed till early in the morning, setting forth at length his grievances against the "Long-Knives", as the Sioux called the Americans.

The Abbot and his two companions were then released by Sitting-Bull and they returned to the United States."

### **Sitting-Bull at Wood Mountain**

The Wood Mountain of those days was a Metis settlement and trading post, established in 1869-70. It was situated on the only considerable elevation between the Cypress Hills to the west and the Moose Mountain to the east. The Boundary Commission of 1873-74 had made its prairie headquarters there; in 1875 the North West Mounted Police placed a small detachment in the building which the Boundary Commission had then abandoned.

Wood Mountain was a fine camping ground. There was clear fresh water, grassy coulees sheltered the lodges and the deep, dark ravines were full of wood for fuel and lodge poles. Buffalo grass grew on the range.

During the summer Four-Horns' camp and Sitting-Bull's camp moved towards Wood Mountain and joined Black-Moon's

camp. Thus a tremendous force of renowned Indian fighters had united themselves into Canadian territory.

The Canadian Government was not as favorably disposed towards the Sioux as was Colonel Irvine. The representations made by the United States Government did not show up the refugees in a favorable light. The Canadian Government also feared that the presence of such a considerable body of strangers would soon deplete the already dwindling supply of buffalo. Ottawa notified the North West Mounted Police that the Sioux would receive sanctuary as long as they did not cause any trouble, but warned them that they should not promise the Sioux any land nor give them the same status as had been given to the Santee refugees of the Minnesota outbreak.

When this message was conveyed to Sitting-Bull, Four-Horns, and Black-Moon, they were not discouraged. They immediately organized a band of tribal police to keep peace and order in the vast encampment.

Major Walsh established his headquarters at Wood Mountain and had under him about twenty men. He also maintained his dignity of an officer representing the Crown, and yet established very friendly relations with the Sioux. Being a tall man of military bearing, Sitting-Bull gave him the name of "Long Lance".

Though determined to obey the laws of their adopted country, the Sioux were tenacious of their property rights, especially in respect to their horses which constituted their chief wealth. Bands of roving Crees and Assiniboines often stole their horses. Sitting-Bull reported these losses to Long Lance, but it could not be expected that the few men who were at the post could watch everything that went on in such a vast territory.

### **The American Commission**

The American Government viewed with alarm the fact that a great number of still powerful and unconquered hostile Indians had taken refuge beneath the British flag, fearing that they might suddenly recross the boundary and strike against General Miles. As the American Government was anxious to bring these Sioux back to the United States Indian Reserva-

tions, a Commission was created to proceed to Canada and there endeavour to persuade the Sioux to surrender and return to their allotted reservations.

Generals McNeill and Terry were appointed Commissioners to negotiate with Sitting-Bull. McNeill did not proceed to Canada. However, Generals Terry and Lawrence, Colonel Corbin, and J.J. Smith reached Canadian territory in October, 1877. It was arranged to hold a meeting at Fort Walsh. On October 15th, officers of the North West Mounted Police met General Terry and his fellow commissioners and escorted them to Fort Walsh. Major Walsh had previously gone to the Sioux camp to induce Sitting-Bull and the other Sioux chiefs to come to the Fort for the conference; it was only with great difficulty that he was able to induce Sitting-Bull to attend or even allow any of his followers to meet the commissioners.

To Major Walsh, Sitting-Bull said: "What is the use? We have heard the lies of the Long Knives often. They will never forgive us for defeating them in battle. Already they have taken away everything we own. Now that we have nothing else left, they will take our lives."

However, Major Walsh, invoking the name of the Great White Mother, succeeded in obtaining Sitting-Bull's consent to meet the commissioners. "It is only for you, Long Lance, that I do this," said Sitting-Bull, as he acceded to Walsh's desire.

Arriving at Fort Walsh on October 17th, Sitting-Bull shook hands warmly with Commissioner McLeod of the Canadian Government, but passed by the American Commissioners in the most disdainful manner.

General Terry was a very humane officer and had opposed the campaign which was waged by the United States Government against the Sioux Indians.

Opening the council, General Terry explained that the President desired him to say that he wished a lasting peace between the Sioux and the white people, and that he promised that if the Indians would return to their country and refrain from further hostilities, full pardon would be granted for the past and the Indians would be received on friendly terms into their own country.

Terry insisted that no Indian who had surrendered up to that time had been punished, and that everyone had received food and clothing from the Government. He warned the Sioux chiefs, "The President cannot, nor will not, consent to your return to your country prepared for war . . . He invites you to come to the boundary of this country, give up your arms and ammunition and go to the agencies assigned to you, giving up your horses except those required for peace purposes." This condition seemed to foredoom the conference to failure.

In reply to Terry, Sitting-Bull said:

"For sixty-four years you have persecuted my people. What have we done that caused us to depart from our native land? We could go nowhere else, so we took refuge here . . .

"You are a bigger fool than I am if you think I believe you. This place, the home of the soldiers of the Grand-mother, is a Medicine House where truth lives and you come here to tell us lies. When you go back to your country, take your lies with you."

Three other chiefs also spoke, briefly endorsing Sitting-Bull's attitude. General Terry was dismayed at the Sioux chiefs' refusal. Sitting-Bull insisted that he had told them all he had to say and that the country which he was now in did not belong to the Americans. The council then closed. The Indians left the Fort, full of contempt and hatred for the American commissioners. Thus ended the ill-fated conference. The prolonged efforts made by both American and Canadian authorities to induce Sitting-Bull to return to the United States had failed.

The American Government had insisted emphatically that the Government of Canada should either compel the refugees to return or oblige them to withdraw from the boundary. The Canadian authorities, however, refused to take either course as long as the refugees refrained from lawlessness.

As all the efforts of the Canadian authorities to restore the confidence of the Sioux in the good faith of the American Government had failed, the only policy left open to them was to give the refugees sufficient help to prevent them from

starving, but at the same time to abstain from promising them anything in advance or making permanent arrangements for their future maintenance.

In an interview with Sitting-Bull and the other Sioux chiefs, at which the American commissioners were not present, McLeod asked them if they had considered their decision well. McLeod said that the Queen recognized them as people who had come into her land for protection and that they were entitled to it. He insisted that they could not return to the United States with arms in their possession and that it was now the duty of the Canadian Government to prevent them doing this. He warned them that if any of them attempted to cross the line with weapons they would have both the Canadian and American Governments as their enemies, but stated that as long as they obeyed the laws of the country, the Queen would not drive them out. McLeod said that they were in a very serious situation. The buffalo were expected soon to disappear, and so they would have to seek some other means of sustenance.<sup>12</sup>

Sitting-Bull positively refused to return to the United States, chiefly because of Terry's insistence that the Sioux surrender their horses and guns. He and his people did not want to walk back a thousand miles to the reservations. The Commissioner had to report to Washington that Sitting-Bull would not return to the United States for some time to come, if at all.

The Mounted Police, on the other hand, were weary of the attitude of Sitting-Bull. It is marvelous how a mere handful of Red Coats could control the Sioux and other Indians in such a large territory without any bloodshed whatever.

As things now stood, the Sioux continually had to risk attack by General Miles' soldiers whenever they crossed the border to hunt the buffalo on the Milk River, but this state of affairs could not force Sitting-Bull into changing his stand.

### Jean Louis Legare

The Tetons Sioux as well as the Santees who were then at Wood Mountain, dealt with the local traders, exchanging horses and meat for other food and ammunition. As they had little idea of the value or utility of the goods that were

offered to them, they often purchased what merely caught their fancy.

As the buffalo was gradually disappearing from the country, the refugees were frequently without food and often forced the Canadian traders to supply them with provisions without payment. On occasion they ill-treated those who were unwilling to give them goods free.

Among the traders there was one who attracted a great deal of attention by reason of the important services he rendered the Dominion of Canada, in connection with Sitting-Bull. He was Jean-Louis Legare. When the Hunkpapa refugees arrived at Wood Mountain, Legare was operating a large trading post there. He carried on business with Halfbreeds, Assiniboines and the large camp of Minnesota Sioux which had been in the locality for a number of years.

As the time went on, the Sioux came to regard Legare as the father and protector of their tribe. Sitting Bull and the other Sioux chiefs went to him for advice on almost all matters. Legare had great pity for the poor refugees and was very liberal in supplying food to them, in many instances doing so without the least hope of compensation. So pitiable was the state to which the Sioux had been reduced by starvation that the Mounted Police detachment at Wood Mountain gave half their rations to the Indian women and children.

During the summer of 1878, the prairie fires swept the country north of the Canadian boundary and the buffalo herds were driven away far to the south. The disappearance of the buffalo caused a great deal of hardship in the Sioux camp. Even after the fires had subsided, buffalo did not return to Canada in very great numbers. Legare always maintained that General Miles had placed soldiers in strategical positions along the American line, to intercept the buffalo in their annual northward trek, so that the Sioux refugees would be starved into submission.

### Nez Perces Refugees

General Miles had received the surrender of Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces tribe, at the end of September, 1878, but some members of this tribe escaped to Canada and joined

Sitting-Bull's camp. The coming of these former enemies had had a decided effect in determining the attitude of Sitting-Bull towards the United States.

Sitting-Bull had taken pity on the Nez Perces refugees and welcomed them. The strangers gave him eight head of horses. The Sioux were very angry at the treatment these poor people had received. They made them welcome in their camp and held feasts for them.

About one hundred Nez Perces families stayed with the Sioux for a little over two years. The North West Mounted Police visited the Nez Perces and even offered them some land to live on. It is told by the old Indians that Chief Joseph had sent scouts to Sitting-Bull hoping to obtain help from him against General Miles' troops. A few days after the first Nez Perces arrived, Sitting-Bull led a scouting party of ten Sioux and nine Nez Perces to the Bear Paw Mountains to see if the American soldiers were still there. The Indians remained for four days but found no soldiers. Fearing that Miles would again attack the Sioux and also fearing to incur the displeasure of the Red Coats, they returned to Canada.

The winter of 1878-79 was a very severe one. When spring came, the Indian hunters went out again after game. Although the buffalo had almost disappeared from the land, they found a large quantity of wild fowl and antelope.

The Sioux Indians sustained themselves throughout that year by the game. Their hunting parties went as far north as Prince Albert. Some of them even went to work for the settlers in the area: the men earning money by labouring in the harvest fields, and the women hiring themselves as domestic servants.

In the summer of 1879, Sitting-Bull crossed the boundary and camped on Buffalo Creek. After a short time he was driven back across the Milk River into Canada by a renegade Sioux called "Bobtail-Horse". He met a party of five hundred Half-breed families who had also been pursuing the buffalo. Sitting-Bull joined the Half-breeds. Although he knew that General Miles was waiting to stop the hunters with an army of over six thousand men, he again dared to cross the boundary.

While camping about twenty miles away from the Half-breeds, he was attacked by General Miles' soldiers. The Indian warriors defended themselves stubbornly, so as to give time to their women and children to flee into Canada. But they lost a great number of men before the engagement was over. Miles forced the Halfbreeds to return to Canada. As a number of them did not cross the boundary quickly enough, they were taken prisoner by the United States troops.

At a meeting, Miles warned the Halfbreed prisoners that they had no right to hunt buffalo in American territory, or to give guns and ammunition to the Sioux. He gave them the choice of establishing themselves permanently either at Turtle Mountain or in the Judith Basin (near Lewiston, Montana).

Information of what had taken place was sent to Major Walsh. The latter set out at once, but arrived on the scene two days late. Walsh followed Miles to the Missouri River and summoned him in the name of the Queen's Government to let the prisoners go and Miles acceded to his demand.

Most of the Halfbreeds taken in custody went either to Turtle Mountain or to Lewiston. Reporting on these events to Washington, General Miles stated his conviction that it was cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them and that the Sioux could not be subdued as long as the Halfbreeds were giving them ammunition and the buffalo were roaming the plains. A number of Sioux chiefs were persuaded to go back to the United States, at that time.

The condition of the Sioux was now becoming very serious. The following winter they were visited by the Rev. Father J. Hugonard, O.M.I., who was missionary at the Qu'Appelle Mission. Father Hugonard had come to Wood Mountain to attend to the religious needs of the one hundred odd Catholic Halfbreed families. He visited Sitting-Bull's camp, and became acquainted with the Sioux refugees.<sup>13</sup>

Late in the fall of 1880, while Sitting-Bull was camping on Frenchmen's Creek, south west of Wood Mountain, the snow was so deep that it was utterly impossible for the Indians to leave their camp to hunt for food. A great number of them were ill with a form of typhoid fever which had broken out



the preceding fall in the vicinity of Fort Walsh. Several members of the camp died during this epidemic.

In January 1881 eighty lodges of Sioux returned to the United States.

In the meantime Sitting-Bull had returned to Wood Mountain, where he and his followers endured untold misery during the long winter. In the spring no buffalo could be found within seventy-five miles, and the horses were too weak to carry the hunters any further. They were forced to kill their horses for food. Fever again broke out among them and the mortality was heavy. The Mounted Police and Legare exhausted their stores of supplies in helping the suffering and starving Indians.<sup>14</sup> On May 10th, 1881, another fifty lodges set out for the United States; thus there were now only hundred and fifty lodges left in Canada.

In the spring of 1881 Major Crozier, of the U.S. Army, made a last effort to induce the remaining Sioux to return to American territory. He offered the Indians a great banquet.

On this occasion, Sitting-Bull said that if he had a letter from his friend in the American Army, Major Bretherton, guaranteeing favourable treatment of the Sioux by the Washington authorities, he would think about returning to the United States. When this letter was handed him, he said he did not believe a word of what was written therein. Irritated by the attitude of Sitting-Bull, Crozier ordered him and his men to leave.

The Indians again took refuge at Legare's trading post. Pitying them because of their starving condition but no longer able to supply them with provisions, Legare decided to take the responsibility of escorting them back to the United States. He told the Sioux that the American Government was granting them amnesty and that if they did not believe him they could send delegates to Fort Buford at his expense. Thirty delegates were chosen by the majority of the band. But Sitting Bull had not decided to surrender and left the council meeting in a very angry mood.

While Legare and the delegates were travelling towards the United States, Sitting Bull persuaded the band to do nothing

for the time being. He said that he was going to ask for a Reserve from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories. In the meanwhile he organized a party of warriors to stop Legare. It is reported that a nephew of Sitting Bull, who was at the head of the party, said to Legare when he overtook him: "We know now what you want to do with these men you are taking to Fort Buford. You want to sell them by the pound. That is why you have taken the fattest men as delegates." This incident reveals the sullen and desperate attitude of Sitting Bull.

### **Sitting Bull at Fort Qu'Appelle**

In June 1881 Sitting Bull with some of his young men went to Fort Qu'Appelle. His purpose was to ask for his people the grant of a reservation in Canada, similar to that which had been conferred on the Santees who had fled from the United States after the Minnesota Outbreak. This request was refused on the grounds that the Teton Sioux refugees had already been allotted reservations in the United States. (In 1878 the Red Cloud—Oglala—and the Spotted-Tail—Brule—Agencies had been established at Pine Ridge and Rosebud respectively, in Dakota territory.

At Fort Qu'Appelle Sitting Bull saw Supt. S. Steele of the N.W.M.P. and Colonel Allan McLeod, then in charge of the treaty commission. Steele telegraphed to the Governor of the Northwest Territories, David Laird, who promptly sent Indian Commissioner Dewdney to Fort Qu'Appelle to interview Sitting Bull. The commissioner suggested that Sitting Bull should return to the United States at once, offering to give him rations and to supply him with an escort. Sitting Bull, who had his confidence only in trader Legare, said: "No, I will go with Legare only."

Sitting Bull had many reasons for refusing to return to United States. The aged members of his band did not want to return to new reservations, although Chief Gall and quite a large number of the younger men had gone over.<sup>15</sup> Sitting Bull and the older people were afraid of being murdered if they returned to the United States. Many of his people, including a number of his own relatives, had been captured across the line and murdered. He knew that Jumping Bull, his adopted

son, was in irons. Sitting Bull trusted Legare as long as he could get provisions from him, and as long as Legare would feed him he was not in a hurry to go south.

While at Fort Qu'Appelle, the Sioux had observed the arrival from Fort Ellice of supplies for the nearby Catholic Mission.

Hoping to obtain provisions by barter, Sitting Bull and many of his men went to see Father Hugonard, O.M.I. The missionary recognized Sitting Bull, whom he had seen at Wood Mountain, and gave him and his party food and tobacco. Sitting Bull asked for more provisions. Father Hugonard explained that he could not supply the Indians with flour as it was very expensive. The Sioux pleaded with him and finally obtained eight bags of flour, along with tea, dry goods, ammunition and all the vegetables that could be spared.

The Sioux were grateful. Before they left the Mission, they gave Father Hugonard five horses, saddles, bridles, articles of clothing and several watches which they had taken from American soldiers in the Custer Battle.<sup>16</sup>

### **Sitting Bull's Return to Wood Mountain**

Commissioner Dewdney supplied Sitting Bull's with sufficient rations for the journey to Wood Mountain but the provisions were exhausted before they reached there on July 2nd. When he arrived at Wood Mountain, Sitting Bull found that Legare had taken a group of Sioux families across the line to Fort Buford.

From that time Sitting Bull considered very seriously to return to the United States notwithstanding his fear of being ill-treated or even murdered. Having considered it for a week he finally decided that it was better for him and his people to surrender. He went to Inspector A. R. Macdonell to ask for more provisions. Acting on Government orders the Inspector refused to grant the request.

In desperation, Sitting Bull threatened to bring his warriors and seize the food. Macdonell fearlessly answered, "Go ahead and try it." Sitting Bull cried out in despair, "I am thrown away."

- 1 Vestal, *New Sources of Ind. Hist.*, p. 237.
- 2 Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*, pp. 222-288, *passim*.
- 3 N.W.M. Police Reports, pp. 24-53, in *Papers Rel. to the Sioux Indians* (13 Dec. 1875—14 April 1879). Sess. Papers No. 4, 41 Vic. Ann. 1878, App. E. P.A.C. 9535.
- 4 Cf. Selkirk and Bulger *Papers* (P.A.C.)
- 5 Black, *History of Sask. and of the Old N.W.*, Vol. I, p. 181.
- 6 With Fourhorns, at Medicine Bear's camp were: Moses Old Bull, Iron Dog, Looking Elk, Bear Eagle, Shield, Grey Eagle and White Horse.
- 7 Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, p. 184.
- 8 On crossing the border, Sitting Bull gave presents to the Crees to secure their amity. However, he never camped near them, fearful that his young braves would trouble the Crees. In 1877 and in 1881, the Sioux killed a number of Crees.
- 9 Begg, *History of the North West*, Vol. II, p. 244.
- 10 Sitting Bull's appearance at that time was impressed upon the minds of the Indians who were very retentive. They have transmitted to us the following description of Sitting Bull: "He was of medium stature and of lean frame. He wore the pelt of a bear's head for a head-dress, and the snout for a peak. The bear's teeth had been retained, even to the tusks which, grinning over the wearer's forehead, gave him a grim and daunting appearance. One of the two eagle feathers adorning his head-dress was dyed red, indicating that he had been wounded in battle. He was bristling with weapons. He had two revolvers and his long knife secured in his cartridge belt. He also had a tomahawk in which three knife blades were fixed." (Z. M. Hamilton.)
- 11 Coll. of North Dak. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, pp. 255-267.
- 12 N.W.M. Police, *Annual Report of the Commissioner, 1877*. (In Dom. Sess. Papers, No. 9. 40 Vic. 1879.)
- 13 Hugonard, Rev. J., O.M.I., Conference, in *Regina Leader*, May 27, 1916.
- 14 Superintendent Walsh, speaking of the conduct of the Sioux and of their relations with the Police, wrote as follows in his report for 1880:  

"The conduct of those starving and destitute people, their patient endurance, their sympathy, the extent to which they assisted each other, and their strict observance of all order would reflect credit upon the most civilized community. I am pleased to inform you, as no doubt it will give you pleasure to know, that the greatest good feeling and consideration was extended to these poor sufferers by the men at Wood Mountain Post. The little that was daily left from their table was carefully preserved and meted out as far as it would go to the women and children. During those five or six weeks of distress I do not think that one ounce of food was wasted at Wood Mountain Post; every man appeared to be interested in saving what little he could, and day after day they divided their rations with those starving people. I must further mention that the Indians received assistance from the halfbreeds."
- 15 After a stubborn engagement with General Miles' troops, on the Poplar River, Mont., Gall had surrendered. (Jan. 2, 1882).
- 16 Hugonard, *supra cit.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SITTING BULL RETURNS TO THE UNITED STATES

After he had been refused the grant of a reservation by Governor Laird, Sitting Bull asked Legare to give him what he wanted and he would do whatever he was told to do. Sitting Bull asked for \$300.00 cash, but Legare would agree only to give him half of that amount. He also asked for an additional ten bags of flour. Thirty-nine wagons were loaded with women, children and food, and proceeded southward. But when night came Sitting Bull returned to hold Legare's camp. Fortunately Legare expected something and was on his guard. He saw one of the Sioux stealing a bag of flour and loading it on his horse Legare shouted out and took it away from him. Infuriated, the Sioux seized his gun and fired. The shot struck the bag of flour, leaving Legare unharmed. Then Legare went to Sitting Bull's tent and was agreeably surprised to find him in a different mood. Sitting Bull had found it useless to hold out any longer and willingly agreed to accompany Legare on the trek southward.

At noon, on July 19th, 1881, Sitting Bull and his little party of mounted men rode into Fort Buford. Colonel William H. S. Bowen, of United States army, then a young officer at Fort Buford, writes that Sitting Bull did not appear to be in good health, showing in his face and figure the ravages of the privation he had gone through. He was getting old. Since the sixties he had been the hero of his race. Giving in to the hated whites and finally surrendering his cherished independence, was a severe blow to his pride.

A few men of the North West Mounted Police accompanied Sitting Bull to Fort Buford. Having asked for witnesses on both sides, some 'Red Coats' and some Americans, Sitting Bull talked for his people to the assembled officers, as follows: "The land I have under my feet is mine again. I never sold it. I never gave it to anybody. If I left the Black Hills five years ago it was because I wished to raise my family quietly. It is

the law of the Grandmother to have everything quiet in her territory. But I thought all the time to come back to this country. Now, as Legare was resolved on bringing me here, I determined to start from Qu'Appelle and come with him to Fort Buford. And now I want to make a bargain with the United States, a solid one."

Having given up his horses and arms, Sitting Bull received a pardon for the past and was given to understand that he was to have a reservation in the Little Missouri country. But as the Sioux who had previously returned to the United States had been sent to the Standing Rock Agency at Fort Yates, he was asked to go there and join them. He showed no disappointment. Thus, Sitting Bull, once a proud and haughty chief, broken by many years of trials and hardships, surrendered quietly to the Americans. Disdainful and sullen, Sitting Bull and his people boarded a steamboat on July 29th; three days later they arrived at Fort Yates.

Sitting Bull, however, was taken to Fort Randolph, and he was held there as a prisoner of war for two years. As he had always feared, the Americans had deceived him and tricked him into surrendering. He was well looked after at Fort Randolph. At last, through the efforts of an old soldier named Andrew DeRockbraine, who explained that Sitting Bull was not the murderer of General Custer, the chief was sent home to Standing Rock on May 10th, 1883.

Major Thomas McLaughlin was then agent at Standing Rock. Sitting Bull expected to be made chief of the whole agency but McLaughlin put a hoe in his hand and informed him that the Grandfather at Washington recognized as chief the Indian who worked hardest and set the best example to his people. Sitting Bull accepted the conditions and immediately went to work.

At a council meeting held by the Committee sent from Washington to investigate the conditions of Indian tribes in Montana and Dakota, Sitting Bull complained that he had not been appointed chief, but the officials paid no attention to him. McLaughlin had divided the Agency into two sections. He made Gall chief of the Hunkpapas and John Grass chief of the Blackfoot Tetons. Sitting Bull was entirely ignored.

## The last years of Sitting Bull

It is painful to learn that Sitting Bull was degraded into a circus attraction. In 1884 he went on a tour of the United States, under the management of Colonel Alvaren Allen, who advertised him as the slayer of General Custer. Sitting Bull had gone along with him because he had been promised an interview with the President but he was deceived again.

The next year, he went on another tour, this time under the more friendly auspices of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. During that summer he had the pleasure of meeting President Grant. He was taken to Canada where he became the main object of interest in the show. He was hailed as an illustrious Indian General and statesman and the ideal of a straightforward and honest Indian.

The Canadians had enough sense to distinguish between Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill. They realized that while Colonel Cody (Buffalo Bill) was not representative of the American Frontiersmen whom he tried to make romantic and respectable, Sitting Bull was a genuine typical Indian chief. And they preferred the authentic to the make-believe.

Sitting Bull made much money in those days but he gave away most of it, distributing it to the Indian children at Fort Yates. In 1887 Buffalo Bill suggested that Sitting Bull be taken to England on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. But he refused to go, thus incurring the displeasure of the agent, Mr. McLaughlin.

In 1888 a commission came to Standing Rock Agency to induce the Sioux to agree to the cession of eleven million acres of their land and to the division of their great reservation into two smaller ones. But Sitting Bull was still powerful enough to line up the chiefs against these proposals.

The Indian councils went on for a month. Sitting Bull succeeded in keeping those millions of acres for his people. Again in 1889, when General Crook brought in a commission to Standing Rock to buy the Sioux lands, Sitting Bull blocked him completely.



**SITTING BULL**  
Painting by Gilbert Gaul.





## The Ghost Dance

A new religion was started in Nevada by a Piute Indian called Wovoka. He declared among other things, that on the first day of the year 1889 he had dreamed he was taken up to Heaven and saw there a very pleasant land full of game. He called himself "Jesus-now-come-on-Earth", who had come to bring the dead to life, to bring back the buffalo, to drive away the white people and give the Indians a life of eternal happiness. He instructed his people in a new five day dance rite, hence the religion became known as the "Ghost Dance."

The new religion spread rapidly through the Indian Nations in the West. The Sioux of Fort Yates Agency, were in a short time converted to the new religion by Kicking Bear. Sitting Bull himself joined in the dances. McLaughlin sent the police to drive out Kicking Bear and did everything he could to interfere with the new religion.

In 1890 McLaughlin tried to have Sitting Bull arrested, but none of his fellow tribesmen who were in the Indian Police force would obey the agent's orders. They turned in their guns and uniforms. Then Lieutenant Bull Head offered to take some men and make the arrest. They went to watch the Ghost Dance. McLaughlin promised pensions to these men if they were injured or to their relatives if they were killed by Sitting Bull's followers.

## Death of Sitting Bull

In the month of December, 1890, Sitting Bull requested a pass to leave the Reservation. He intended going to Pine Ridge where he had been invited for a visit. In the meantime the military authorities for the Dakota Territory at St. Paul had issued an order for Sitting Bull's arrest on the charge of attendance at the Ghost Dance, and had forwarded this order to Agent McLaughlin.

It would appear that this charge was only the ostensible reason for arresting him. The real reason was the fact that he still yielded great power over the Sioux and had consistently used that power to prevent further cession of land. Upon receiving the orders from military headquarters, McLaughlin sent Lieutenant Bull Head, of the Indian police, to the cabin

of Sitting Bull with a warrant for his arrest, written in Sioux. Sitting Bull had been warned by some of his friends. The Ghost Dance was in progress at the time but Sitting Bull was in his cabin. Bull Head and his men arrived during the night. As Sitting Bull's friends resisted the policemen, there was a struggle in which Bull Head was shot and as he fell he fired at Sitting Bull who was instantly killed.

Thus died Sitting Bull. As McLaughlin writes, "the shot that killed him put a stop forever to the domination of the ancient regime among the Sioux of the Standing Rock reservation."

According to Indian legend, Sitting Bull's death was known almost as soon as it occurred in camps situated hundreds of miles from the scene of the event. Robert High Eagle, a late federal Indian Judge of Fort Peck, Montana, asserted that "wherever there was a band of Sioux living on that fateful day, a spectral horseman galloped out of the morning mists and from a high butte he cried in a great voice: 'Sitting Bull is dead'."

At the time of Sitting Bull's death, there were only two hundred of his followers still in Canada.<sup>2</sup> As years went by more and more of them had returned to the United States to join their kin on the various reservations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Legare claimed the sum of \$13,412 from the United States Government, in July, 1887. The United States Court of Claims awarded him \$5,000. (49th Congress, 1st Sess. House of Repr. B. 4553). — The Canadian Government, on the recommendation of the Marquis of Lorne, voted him a \$2,000 compensation. A township was also granted to Legare; however, he never received either title or possession of said township. (Records of Indian Affairs, Fol. 33187.)

<sup>2</sup> The Tetons, who were near Moose Jaw at the time of the death of Sitting Bull, became very uneasy and excited. (St. Paul Mail, Dec. 22, 1890.) Excitement ran high at Brandon, Man., over false reports of an Indian rebellion. (Winnipeg Free Press, Jan. 12, 1891.)

<sup>3</sup> The Moose Jaw Times, May 6, 1889, reports that 12 lodges of Sioux returned to the Spotted Tail Reservation in Nebraska.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE SIOUX BECOME RESIDENTS IN CANADA

Between 1865 and 1875 the Minnesota refugees in Canada lived a free and nomadic life, very similar to that which they had lived in their own country. Camping in tents near Portage La Prairie and the neighbouring settlements they gained their livelihood by hunting and trapping. They also hired their services to the few white settlers in the country.

They were very different from the other Canadian Indians in that they were active and thrifty. Thus Cowie, in his book: "The Company of Adventurers", says:

"Instead of taking contracts to make hay and cut cordwood and expending all their art in trying to secure advances in full before the work was even begun, far less done, the Sioux went to work first and saved their earnings for a time of need. My own experience with them subsequently, was that they secured in time of abundance of buffalo, provision for the winter and for other times of scarcity, while our own Crees, Assiniboines and Saulteux were eager to sell every bit of provisions to us or other traders, with no thought for the morrow".

During the first thirty years of their life in British Territory, the Minnesota refugees had, on the whole, been orderly. Only once were members of the tribe formally indicted for murder. The Indian version of the incident, which took place in the winter of 1870 on the Assiniboine River, is as follows:

Itowewanjanmani, a member of White Eagle's band, quarrelled with another Indian on the occasion of a distribution of rations. He killed him by striking him on the head with the butt of his gun. The murderer fled to Portage la Prairie but was caught by a party of nine Sioux who shot him to avenge the murdered man.

As the last slaying was carried out in accordance with tribal law, and as the authorities wished to impress upon the Indians that tribal law had no force in Canada, an indictment

was laid before the Grand Jury of Manitoba. But in the meantime the chief actors in the tragedy had disappeared. Had they been arraigned their defense would probably have been that they were acting in accordance with the traditions of their tribe.

## **Red River Rebellion 1869-70**

The Red River Rebellion of 1869-70 was caused by the refusal of the half-breed settlers, who formed the great majority of the population, to accept the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion Government, through fear that their interests would be jeopardized. The half-breeds set up a Provisional Government to hold office until arrangements could be made with Canada to protect the rights of the natives. This Provisional Government was headed by Louis Riel.

There is no evidence that the Sioux refugees had any part in the Red River disturbances of 1869-70.<sup>a</sup>

Early in December it was rumoured at Fort Garry that eleven hundred Sioux had joined the rebels and were on their way to raid the settlement, led by George Racette, alias "shaw-man", a reckless half-breed.

But little credence was given to this report. However, it is quite certain that Racette approached the Sioux chiefs and endeavoured to incite them in taking part in the insurrection.

Further excitement was caused when on December 30th a party of fifty Sioux was reported on its way from Portage la Prairie to Fort Garry. A larger party was said to be preparing to follow them.

One evening three Sioux Indians arrived at the residence of James McKay. Some more arrived a little later and surrounded the house. Mr. McKay, accustomed to handle the Sioux, invited them in and suggested the holding of a meeting in his large dining-room. It happened that many of Riel's councillors were already in the house.

In the discussions that ensued the Metis councillors advised the Sioux not to get mixed up in the quarrels and to stay away from the village of Winnipeg. The Chief of the Sioux delegation said that he did not intend to hurt his white brothers in

the settlement, but merely to pay his annual visit and obtain New Year's presents. The Sioux would go back, he said, but not empty handed. The chief stated that Chief Fox of the Lake Manitoba Crees had urged him to join in war against the halfbreeds. The chief then produced a large medal of Queen Victoria, under whose protection he said, he and his band had been for the past eight years.

Mr. McKay gave tobacco to his guests. A little later in the evening Louis Riel arrived on the scene and warned the Sioux that they would get into trouble if they did not go away soon.

Well pleased and gratified with the presents they had received, the Sioux danced for some time in the McKay residence. To entertain them a galvanic battery was produced. Some excitement was caused when a number of Indians were subjected to mild electrical discharges; one of them, apparently in ill-health, fainted. His companions viewed this accident with suspicion; and soon after left the house.

They returned to their camp, and shortly afterwards set out for Portage la Prairie. There were then at Portage nearly five hundred Sioux. This figure includes a group that had arrived recently from the Souris River in the Dakota country.

During 1870 more Sioux Indians fled to Canada. It was feared for a time that they would plunder the property of the Hudson's Bay Company. They were aware that the Half-breeds had risen in the Fort Garry district and had pillaged the Company's store. The prospect of easy loot was naturally a temptation to them. But the influence of Bishop Tache was able to restrain them from such acts of robbery.

The Sioux who were in Canada at the time of the rebellion gave no assistance to Riel's followers. Outside of a few petty acts of larceny, they were law-abiding and well-behaved.<sup>3</sup>

It stated that Colonel Dennis, acting under Governor McDougall's instructions sought to array the warriors of the Sioux tribes against the insurgents. But the Sioux refused to take sides with any party. They declared that the whole country belonged to all in common and that every one should be permitted to hunt in peace.

## **Indian Treaties**

In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered Rupert's land to the Dominion of Canada for £300,000 and some seven million acres of land. Thus ended the control which the Company had exercised over that vast area for two centuries.

On June 23rd, 1870, an Order-in-Council, signed by Queen Victoria, established the Province of Manitoba out of part of Rupert's Land.

With the coming into existence of Manitoba, a steady stream of settlers poured into the fertile Western prairies.

When the enormous country formerly known as the North-West Territories and Rupert's Land was entrusted to the Dominion of Canada, the Treaties made with the Indian inhabitants secured the alliance of the Indian tribes. British custom has always recognized the Indian's title to land, which title consisted of hunting and fishing rights over the districts occupied by them. The Crown reserved to itself the exclusive right to treat with the Indians for surrender.

The only previous surrender of land in Manitoba had been made by the Saulteux and Cree in 1817 to Lord Selkirk. The question of Indian title was of very great interest and importance in regard to the future of the Red River Colony.

At one time the Sioux laid claim to part of the British North West, but, having made themselves unpopular with the other Indians, they were driven across the boundary. It appears that the quarrel arose over a very trifling incident, the killing of a dog. From this insignificant beginning conflict arose that ultimately brought about the union of the Saulteux, Crees and Assiniboines to expel the Sioux from the country. The Tetons also laid claim to territory in the Canadian North West as their primitive hunting ground. There is a great and reasonable doubt respecting the claims of the Sioux to title of land in the British territory.<sup>4</sup>

A vast extent of land in Western Canada was surrendered by the Indians in the following treaties:

1. Stone Fort 1871.
2. Manitoba Post 1871.

3. North West Angle 1873.
4. Fort Qu'Appelle 1874 (completed at Fort Ellice in 1875).
5. Winnipeg 1875.
6. Carlton and Pitt 1876.
7. Blackfeet 1877.\*

### **The Refugees in Manitoba are granted Reservations**

As early as 1870 the Sioux refugees represented to the Lieutenant Governor that they had no homes nor means of living. They begged permission to be allowed to settle in the Province and asked for lands and agricultural implements so that they might support themselves by farming. As the Sioux Indians occupied an anomalous position in Canada, they could not reasonably claim to be placed on the same footing or treated with the same liberality as the Indian bands who had always been residents in British territory.

After a full consideration of the circumstances connected with their peculiar position in Canada the Government consented to grant the Sioux a reserve in 1873. Lieutenant Governor Morris, having obtained authority to do so, promised the Sioux a reservation, informing them that their case was exceptional and that what would be done was a matter of grace and not a matter of right. They were also warned that they should not allow any Sioux from United States to come and live with them.

An official document authorizing an appropriation of land for the settlement of a band of Sioux Indians was approved by the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, on January 4th, 1873.

The document, Order-in-Council, No. 1128, is as follows:

"On a Memo dated 31st Decr. 1872, from the Hon. the Secy. of State for the Provinces stating that Lieut. Governor Morris in a letter of the 16th of November last calls attention to the subject of an appropriation of land for the settlement of the Band of Sioux Indians who some time since entered the N.W. Territories.

"That the case of these Sioux, was the subject of a Report of the 7th February from the Indian Office—and that in it, it was proposed to allot to each family 80 acres of farm land.



"That the Band was computed to be composed of about 80 families and consequently to locate them 6,400 acres would suffice. But that due allowance for inferior land not adapted for Agriculture and provision likewise for some excess over 80 families, should be made—and recommending that a Reserve be set apart for them, to contain about 12,000 acres with the understanding that an additional quantity will be reserved should their actual numbers require it.

"The Secy. of State observes that Comr. Simpson in a letter of the 15th inst. suggests that a reserve should be set apart West of the Province of Manitoba towards the International Boundary line. But that it must be borne in mind that many of these people were refugees from the United States, and it is very questionable whether it would be good policy or consistent with humanity to insist upon the Reserve being in such proximity to the American Territory that inroads therefrom would not be difficult of accomplishment by those who are still hostile to them, and a possible series of complications be the result—He, therefore, suggests that the precise locality, west of Manitoba, should be left open for future arrangement.

"The Committee submit the foregoing recommendation and suggestion for Your Excellency's approval."

(Certified by W. A. Himsworth).<sup>s</sup>

A few months later another Order-in-Council, authorizing the continuance under the British flag of the same band of Sioux Indians who had immigrated to the North West, was approved by the Governor-General in Council (April 24th, 1873).

This Order-in-Council, No. 1723, is as follows:

"On a Memo dated 22nd April, 1873 from the Hon. Mr. Campbell submitting that a band of Sioux Indians immigrated into the North-West Territories about . . . . [11 years] ago from the United States—that they are represented to be desirous of remaining under the British Flag and that the Lieut. Govr. of Manitoba has recommended that authority be given to him to place the band in a proper locality in the vicinity of Lake Manitoba, and that the Indian Comr. should proceed as soon as practicable to Manitoba to make the necessary arrangements with reference to these Indians.

"That he, Mr. Campbell, recommends that the authority asked for by the Lieut. Govr. be granted, and that instructions be issued to the Indian Comr. to make the arrangements recommended by His Honor the Lieut. Governor.

"The Com. submit the above recommendation for your Excellency's approval."

(Certified by W. A. Himsworth).s

The first location of the proposed reserve was the shores of Lake Manitoba but the Sioux were unwilling to go there through fear of the Saulteux Indians.

In the meanwhile, Cou-Croche, Chief of the Saulteux promised to live at peace "with all men", especially with the Sioux. Permission was given him to pay a visit to the Sioux. The result of the interview was satisfactory and, in spite of the mutual distrust of the two tribes, which was caused by their hatred and enmity in the past, the ancient feud was buried.

### **Bird Tail and Oak River Sioux**

A more suitable locality was selected for the proposed Sioux reservation at the Forks of the Little Saskatchewan (Minnedosa) and Assiniboine Rivers, where the Sioux were encamped in large numbers. However, this location was without wood and consequently unsuited for their purpose. The chiefs requested a new location should be selected, intimating at the same time the wish to have two or, if possible, three small reserves instead of a large one. Governor Morris recommended the application of the Sioux to the favorable consideration of the Government. In November, 1874, instructions were accordingly sent to Molyneux St. John, Indian Commissioner, to take measures to select for the band, in concert with their Chiefs, two or three reserves further west, on the same basis as to acreage as the reserve originally proposed, (80 acres for every family of five persons); it being understood that the original reserve should be formally surrendered by the Band. Early in 1875 the Indian Commissioner obtained accordingly a formal surrender of the original reserve, and, in company with the Sioux Chiefs, selected a Reserve further west on the Assiniboine at Berry Creek or Oak River (Chief White Eagle), and another still further west on Bird Tail Creek near Fort Ellice (Chief Mahpiyahdinape).

As early as 1875, under chiefs Mahpiyahdinape and Mahpiyaduta the Sioux settled in large numbers on the Bird Tail Creek reserve. Very industrious and moral they have been practically self-supporting, being successful farmers. They are Wahpetons, and now number about 75 souls. There is a Presbyterian chapel on the reservation. (Bird Tail Reserve, No. 57, Birtle Agency).<sup>6</sup>

The Oak River Band is composed of Sissetons (who settled there under Chief White Eagle, with a few Wahpetons and Mdewakantonwans. They are mostly farmers and have a large amount of stock. The Church of England established a mission in 1880. The Catholic Church built a chapel in 1935. There are about 375 Indians on this reservation. (Oak River Reserve, No. 58, Griswold Agency).<sup>8</sup>

In 1891 a number of Yanktons crossed the Canadian boundary and tried to establish themselves on the Oak River and Bird Tail Creek Reservations. Being expelled from there they camped in the Moose Mountain area, district of Assiniboia, for two or three years, and then returned to the United States.<sup>7</sup>

### Portage Sioux

There was still a large number of Sioux living a nomadic life in the vicinity of Portage la Prairie in 1875. The Lt. Governor visited them and eventually got their consent to move into the reservations. However many of them remained near Portage.

Twenty-six acres of land were bought by the Sioux in 1898 for \$400.00; in the same year, in virtue of an Order in Council, dated Oct. 6th, 1898, the Department of Indian Affairs set aside a lot (No. 14) containing 109 acres; for their use. In 1913 this lot was relinquished by the Dept. of Interior. Lot 99 was then bought by the Department of Indian Affairs for the use of the Indians.<sup>10</sup>

There are now 50 Wahpetons, Wiyakotidan band, at Portage la Prairie. There is a United Church chapel on the reservation.

In 1934 twenty-three families were resettled on the Long Plain reservation by the Department of Indian Affairs, at a

cost of \$14,000.00. Unfortunately only a few of them remained at Long Plain. The others returned to the Sioux Village at Portage or moved to the Oak Lake reservation. (Portage la Prairie Sioux Village, Reserve No. 8a).

### Oak Lake and Turtle Mountain Sioux

Pursued incessantly by the United States troops, Inkpaduta fled into Dakota Territory. He was with Standing Buffalo at the battle of the Big Mound. After the battle of the Killdeer Mountain on December 3rd, 1863, he was driven northwards towards Canadian territory by General Sully.

Arriving at the Canadian boundary in July 1864, Inkpaduta made many forays along the frontier. Wherever an outrage was committed, the tracks of the murderous chief were found nearby. He remained in the vicinity of the Canadian border until the Red Cloud wars. Having joined the Tetons after the Treaty of 1868 he roamed through the Montana country with Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. He took an active part in the wars of 1876. After the power of the Sioux had been broken, Inkpaduta returned to Canada with his band of about twenty-five families.

Inkpaduta lived for some time at the Turtle Mountain Reserve. Later he went north in the territory of Saskatchewan, where he died near Batoche.

There was also in the Turtle Mountain region a large body of Sioux refugees. In 1877 they sent two deputations to the Lieutenant Governor Morris asking for a Reserve. They also asked for implements to cultivate the soil.

Being warned not to interfere with the American Sioux, they were promised a Reserve some distance from the boundary, but were warned not to aid or abet the American Sioux. The Turtle Mountain Sioux, grateful for the kindness with which they had been treated in Canadian Territory disclaimed all intention of going on the warpath along with their American brothers, and asserted that their only desire was to live peacefully.

In 1878, their chief, He-ahde, was granted a reservation near Oak Lake. Some time later another reserve was granted to Hdamani in the Turtle Mountains.

The Oak Lake Reservation has now a population of 130. They are mostly Wahpekute.

The Turtle Mountain Reserve having been surrendered in 1907, its inhabitants moved to the Oak Lake Reservation. There is little farming done, most of the Indian being trappers and hunters. These Indians were evangelized by a native preacher named John Thunder. At the present time some belong to the United Church while others are Catholics. A chapel was built for the latter in 1935. (Oak Lake Reserve, No. 59. Griswold Agency)."

### **Standing Buffalo's Band**

When Standing Buffalo died in 1869 there were already a few Sissetons and Wahpetons camped in the vicinity of Fort Qu'Appelle. Many other members of these bands were to be found in the Cypress Hills. It seems that hundreds of Sisseton and Wahpeton refugees returned to the United States at that time settling down on the Devil's Lake Reservation. After Standing Buffalo's death, his son, Matoduza, took over the leadership of the band and endeavoured to obtain a reservation from the Canadian Government.

On October 11th, 1875, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, had written in the name of the Queen, to Standing Buffalo and White Cap, urging them to settle on definite reservations. They were told that they could choose any location provided it was not too near the American boundary, and that the Queen would ratify their choice.

After interviews with the Hudson's Bay Company Factor at Fort Qu'Appelle, they were instructed to go and meet the Governor at Fort Pelly. A delegation interviewed Governor Laird at Fort Pelly in the spring of 1877. The following year Lieutenant-Governor Laird thus wrote to Standing Buffalo from the Government House in Battleford: (Jan. 22nd, 1878).

"I have received the Request which you sent me on behalf of your Band, dated last December 19th, concerning a Reserve, agricultural implements and seed grains.

"Your father-in-law, when he visited at Pelly last spring, evidently did not understand me properly, for I did not promise

that your Band would have a man to teach you to build houses and to cultivate the land.

"I have written to Ottawa for you to obtain a Reserve, and the Minister of the Queen has granted permission to your Band to occupy the Coulee of which you speak, located west of the Fort Qu'Appelle, to cultivate the land there and to take generally what you need. There is no act of cession registered to that effect, but there is the promise of the General Superintendent of Indian Affairs which should be for you the assurance which you ask for, if you occupy and cultivate this coulee. But if you do not do so, the Government will believe that you do not desire this location for a Reserve.

"I cannot grant to your people the different articles which you ask for, but I will endeavour to obtain seed grains and a few agricultural implements to enable you to cultivate next spring."

Standing Buffalo chose for his reservation the land at the junction of Jumping Deer Creek and the Qu'Appelle River where twenty-four lodges of his band had been camping since 1874.

However, the Standing Buffalo Sioux continued for a number of years to roam the plains, camping in different places along the Qu'Appelle Valley.

The Standing Buffalo reserve has a population of 200, mostly Sissetons with a few Wahpetons. These Indians are farmers, but do not raise cattle. They were among the first Indians in Saskatchewan to farm. They are industrious and have a good standard of living. They are all Catholics, a mission having been founded there in 1890 by the Oblate Fathers of the Qu'Appelle Mission, (Lebret, Sask.). (Standing Buffalo Reserve, No. 78, Qu'Appelle Agency).<sup>12</sup>

### **White Cap's Band**

The White Cap band came to Canada in 1862, entering the country at a point west of the Turtle Mountains. White Cap's band travelled with Standing Buffalo's band until 1874. White Cap was then camping at Fort Qu'Appelle with fifty-two lodges. In 1875 he went to Fort Garry to see Lieutenant Governor Morris. He did not wish to settle down on the

proposed reserve on the Little Saskatchewan, in Manitoba; he asked for the privilege of hunting with the Halfbreeds of the Qu'Appelle Valley, and expressed the desire that his band be given a reservation in Saskatchewan. They moved to the Cypress Hills where they remained for four years and from there went north to the Prince Albert district.

Although they were granted a reservation on the South Saskatchewan River (near Saskatoon) in 1883, White Cap and his band continued to live near Prince Albert. In 1885 they moved to their reservation on the South Saskatchewan (Moose Woods).

They had scarcely settled down when White Cap became involved in the Riel Rebellion of 1885. The Halfbreeds had appropriated cattle and horses belonging to the band. In an effort to recover the stolen property, White Cap and some members of the band followed the Half-Breeds. The chief, who could not speak a word of French or Cree, was taken to Riel's headquarters at Batoche. He was taken to meetings at which all the proceedings were in these languages. Being ignorant of these tongues, he knew nothing of what was said or decided upon. Without an effort to ascertain his wishes on the matter, White Cap was even made a member of Riel's council.

Realizing that he was becoming involved in the rebellion, White Cap managed to escape. In spite of the efforts of the Halfbreeds to prevent him, White Cap succeeded in reaching Saskatoon, where he met Dr. Willoughby. He complained that he had been taken to Batoche against his will and pleaded for assistance in recovering his property from the Halfbreeds.

White Cap seems to have returned to Riel's camp, for he was present with his followers at the battle of Fish Creek, April 24th, 1885, when two hundred of Riel's men attacked the forces of General Middleton. With White Cap were a few Yanktons and a few Tetons from Wood Mountain. Whether the Sioux actually took part in the engagement is difficult to say.

During the Rebellion the members of the band wandered about begging food from the settlers but never attempting to steal or extort it. After the rebellion White Cap was arrested,

brought to Regina and tried for complicity in the Rebellion. However, as it was proved that he had been forced against his will to join the rebels, he was absolved of all guilt and allowed to go free.

The reservation granted to White Cap is on the Saskatchewan River, south of Saskatoon. Its population is 75, mostly Sissetons, of the Cankute band. A United Church mission and day-school are located there. The Moose Woods Sioux raise cattle and are entirely self-supporting; the present farming instructor, Harry Little Crow, is a Sioux Indian. (Moose Woods Reserve, No. 94. Duck Lake Agency).<sup>13</sup>

### **Wahpeton Sioux at Prince Albert**

A band of Wahpetons came to Canada shortly after the Minnesota outbreak. They lived near Portage la Prairie until 1872. For reasons unknown they moved to northern Saskatchewan near Prince Albert. They were not forced to join the insurgents under Louis Riel in 1885. During the rebellion they wandered about, begging food from the settlers. A reservation was granted to them around 1890.

It is inhabited by Wahpetons, who number 60. This reserve is near Prince Albert. The Indians are trappers and hunters. (Wahpeton Reserve, No. 94a. Carlton Agency).<sup>14</sup>

### **Wood Mountain Sioux**

After Sitting Bull returned to the United States, chief Wambligi remained in Canada with about one hundred and fifty lodges of Teton. This number gradually dwindled for, as years went by, party after party returned to the American reservations.

The Messiah Craze which caused much excitement in the United States had few repercussions among the Canadian Sioux. It was only in the Wood Mountain area that the new religion gained a few adherents. The only Messiah Dance ever held in Canada took place in 1895 at a fork of Wood River, six miles north west of the present town of Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan. This dance was organized by Black Bull. Shortly after the death of Sitting Bull a few of the Wood Mountain



Sioux had gone to Pine Ridge, S. Dak., and there learned the tenets of the Messiah religion.

When the buffalo disappeared from the Wood Mountain country, the Sioux Indians came to Moose Jaw to earn a livelihood by working in the village. In 1882 they had a permanent camp in the valley near Moose Jaw. They were under the leadership of Black Bull, and lived in tents all the year around. In 1913 a reserve was granted to them near the old Wood Mountain post.

There are at Wood Mountain about 45 Sioux, of the Hunkpapa clan, who came with Sitting Bull. A few of them cultivate the land and raise cattle. Most of them are Catholics. (Wood Mountain Reserve, No. 160).<sup>15</sup>

In the vicinity of this reservation are several families of Sioux origin. They are now Canadian citizens. (To this group belongs the author of the poem entitled "Custer's Day."—Quoted above in Chapter VII).

In addition to the Sioux who live on the above-mentioned reservations, there are about one hundred others, scattered through Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Some reside on the reserves of Treaty Indians (Long Plains, Elphinstone, Assiniboine, White Bear's, Round Lake, Muscowequan, etc.); others have acquired citizenship and are to be found in the neighbourhood of Brandon, Portage and Birtle (in Manitoba), Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatoon and Prince Albert (in Saskatchewan).<sup>16</sup>

## APPENDIX 1

It is difficult to estimate the number of Sioux refugees in the British territory in any given year between 1870 and 1890.

According to a report by the Hon. Pascal Breland, former member of the Northwest Council, written in 1877, there were approximately five thousand Sioux in Canada (1,227 lodges).

They were divided in five groups:

1. On hundred and fifty lodges of Minnesota Sioux, near Portage la Prairie, and west of the Assiniboine River.
2. One hundred and twenty-seven lodges of Santees on the Souris River.

3. Two hundred lodges of the Minnesota loyal Sisseton-Wahpeton camping somewhere between Wood Mountain and the Cypress Hills. (These were Standing Buffalo's and White Eagle's followers).

4. Two hundred lodges of Teton Sioux who had crossed the frontier in 1876, under the leadership of Holy Bear. (These Indians did not remain more than two or three years in Canada, and were located in the Wood Mountain area).

5. Sixty lodges of Sioux under Sitting Bull and Inkpaduta. (These were Indians who had been engaged in hostilities in the United States and came into British territory after the battle of Little Big Horn).

This census does not seem to be entirely accurate for we know that there were many more Teton Sioux in the Wood Mountain area in 1877.

(Breland, P.—Report in Confid. Papers Rel. to the Sx. Ind. P. 30, P.A.C. 9535).

## APPENDIX 2

### The Sioux Reservations in the United States

The following details regarding the various Sioux reservations in the United States, during the last forty years of the nineteenth century, may prove of interest to the reader. They are compiled from the reports on the 1890 Indian census, which is the earliest accurate account available.

In North Dakota, the Devil's Lake Reservation (established 1867) contained 300 "Cuthead" Yanktons, 320 Sissetons, 142 Wahpetons, 54 Santees and 123 Yanktons. The Standing Rock Reservation (1875) contained 1786 Yanktonnai, 1739 Hunkpapa Teton and 500 Blackfoot Teton.

In South Dakota, the Cheyenne River Reservation (original home): 2823 Teton of the Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Sansarcs, Miniconju and Two Kettle bands. (This Reservation adjoins the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota). Lower Brule (original home): 1,026 Burnt-Thigh Teton. Crow Creek Reservation inhabited since 1805 by the Yanktonnai originally from Pipestone, Minnesota; these numbered 1058. Pine Ridge Reservation inhabited since 1867 by the Oglala (Teton), 4,500 souls. Rosebud Reservation was opened in 1878 for the former inhabitants of the Spotted Tail Agency (Nebraska):

Burnt-Thigh, 1988; Loafer Band, 1052; Wajaja (a clan of the Burnt-Thigh), 1184; Two Kettle (Tetons), 228; and 167 "Northern Sioux" (probably Minnesota Sioux).

There was also in **South Dakota** a **Yankton Reservation** opened in 1859 and inhabited by 1725 Yanktons. Over 2500 refugees from Minnesota were established on the **Lake Traverse** and at the **Santee (Flandreau) Agencies**; 1522 Sisseton-Wahpeton on the former, and nearly 1000 from the four Santee tribes on the latter. These Indians were citizens of the United States and had the right of voting. There were also a few Yanktons at Flandreau.

In **Nebraska** the **Niobrara Agency**, opened after 1866 for the Santees from Minnesota, was inhabited by 990 Indians.

In **Montana** the **Fort Peck Agency** (1862) contained 1000 Minnesota refugees and a number of Yanktonnais, Brules (Burnt-Thigh) and Hunkpapa Tetons. Adjoining it there was a large Assiniboine Reservation.

This gives a grand total of 27,600 Sioux in the United States. This number comprises nearly 3,000 Sioux who had been in Canada and who returned in small groups to their own people in the United States, between 1870 and 1890.

The Canadian census for 1890 is quite unsatisfactory respecting the Sioux. It sets the figure of the Sioux then living in Canada at 920, but does not enumerate the bands which were not yet settled on reservations.

3000 Sioux in the United States were not receiving subsistence supplies from the Government. (Devil's Lake, 1000, Sisseton-Wahpeton in S. Dak., 1500, and Flandreau, S.D., 500).

1 Cowie, *Company of Adventurers*.

2 Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, p. 198.

3 Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, p. 148, p. 204. *New Nation*, Winnipeg, Jan. 7, 1870. *St. Paul Telegraph*, May 3, 1870.

4 Begg, *History of the North West*, Vol. II, p. 218.

5 Morris, A., *Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba*.

6 Ind. Branch, *Office of Sec. of State for Man.*, 1873. (In *Ind. Affairs Record*, Fol. 1381.)

7 Commissioner H. Reed's (Regina) letter, Aug. 15, 1891, in *Ind. Affairs*, Fol. 81670.

8 With Mahpiyaduta's band was another band under a chief called Little Crow. (Not the same Little Crow (Taoyateduta) as the one mentioned in Chapters III and IV.)

- Chiefs Wambdiska (White Eagle, who was at Wood Mountain at the time of Black Moon's arrival), and Chief Tanyanhdinajin were granted the reserve. The Church of England built the first mission and school in 1887. — Father J. Hugonard, O.M.I., was the first Catholic missionary at Oak River.
- 10 In 1875 a great number of Sioux died during an epidemic. The chiefs were: Oinajin, Kangi, Pazi-iyapa and Pazi-akan-Najin. Lot 14 was granted to the Portage Sioux by an O.-in-C. dated Oct. 6, 1898. Lot 99 is registered in the Land Titles Office, at Portage (Dom. Govt. Cert. of Title No. 2547); it comprises 25 acres.
- 11 The Turtle Mountain Reserve was closed in 1914. — John Thunder, who had established a mission at the Turtle Mountain Reserve (Society for Christian Endeavour, of Deloraine, Man.) moved to Pipestone in 1895; a mission was established there by the Presbyterian Church, and was closed in 1915. — Father J. Hugonard, O.M.I., was the first Catholic missionary at Oak Lake Reserve.  
The Oak Lake Indians are Wahpetons (descendants of chief Heahde, and Wahpekutes (descendants of Inkpaduta); there are a few Pabaksa Yanktons living there.
- 12 A combined day and boarding school was in operation before 1898 on the reserve.
- 13 With the White Cap Sioux at the time of the 1885 Rebellion were a few Hunkpapa from Wood Mountain; these were arrested and later released.— The Moose Woods Sioux are mostly Sisseton.—A Methodist mission and a day school were established in 1887; Mr. Tucker was the first missionary.
- 14 This reserve is also called Round Plains. The Sioux are Sisseton and Wahpekute (the latter being descendants of Inkpaduta, who died at Batoche). The reserve granted by O.C., March 17, 1894 (P.C. 810), was relocated on Dec. 7, 1894, (O.C. 3563).
- 15 The Wood Mountain Sioux have long been known as the Moose Jaw Sioux. They are all Hunkpapas. — Through the efforts of the Rev. A. D. Pringle, Presbyterian minister at Limerick, Sask., a reserve was granted to them in 1913. This reserve was confirmed by Order-in-Council No. 1775, dated Aug. 5, 1930.
- 16 William Yuzicapi, of Standing Buffalo Reserve, has been chief of the Okanase Cree Reserve in the File Hills Agency for three consecutive terms.

## CHAPTER X.

### SURVIVAL OF THE SIOUX IN CANADA

The mode of life of the Indians was greatly changed when the western prairies were settled. When they signed Treaties with the Canadian Government, reservations were granted to them, on which they were expected to live and settle down to farming and other domestic vocations. But it took quite a number of years for the Indians to get accustomed to a sedentary life. Being hunters at heart it was extremely difficult for them to change their customs and habits.

The final disappearance of the buffalo from the western prairies was the greatest factor in forcing them to gain sustenance through farming and cattle raising. The American buffalo, properly called "bison", was estimated in 1850 to number twenty million. Large herds of buffalo came north during the summer months and the Canadian Indians used to follow them back south on the fall hunts. White hunters, equipped with powerful repeating carbines, have often been blamed for the extinction of the buffalo. However, there is also a natural cause for the disappearance of the buffalo.

From 1830 onwards the short-tufted "buffalo-grass" began to disappear, being replaced by the tall blue-stem grass. The buffalo-grass had a high nutritional value and was available all the year around, whereas the blue-stem grass had an inferior food content and dried up and shriveled away early in September. Before 1830, the buffalo depended mainly on buffalo-grass for food. Thence after they had to rely more and more on blue-stem grass. The result was that during winter the buffalo starved to death in huge numbers. The buffalo was a true friend of the Indians, furnishing them with food, raiment and fuel. Buffalo skins were used for teepees, harness, moccasins, clothing, cradles and even shrouds. Dried buffalo meat could be kept almost indefinitely, and thus yielded the Indians with an all-year-round supply of food.



**NUNPAKIKTE AND HIS WIFE**

Photo R.C.M.P., Wood Mountain.

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In 1880, after the eastern herd of buffalo had gradually disappeared from Manitoba, small groups of the western herd were still roaming around Saskatchewan. The years 1878 to 1880 were the worst in Indian history for famine. After the destruction of the buffalo ranges by large prairie fires in 1879, the buffalo took their last stand in the Cypress Hills, and then disappeared almost entirely from Canadian soil.'

The Sioux refugees in Canada proved themselves quickly adaptable to their new mode of life. They were among the first Indians to till the soil and were quite successful gardeners. They introduced the cultivation of the so-called "squaw corn" which could ripen during the short Canadian summer.

### **Native Language**

The Sioux Indians in Canada have kept their native tongue to a high degree. To-day the santee dialect is spoken even by the children in the Manitoba reservations; and the Sisseton is still spoken in the Saskatchewan reservations, with the exception of Wood Mountain, where Teton is the native dialect.

These dialects are properly called "Dakota". The Dakota language is entirely different to any of the Algonquian languages such as Cree, Saulteux and Blackfoot. The Sioux alphabet has ten vowels and twenty-four consonants, many of the latter having very harsh sound. The pronouns are either separate or incorporated in the verb. The verb, by far the most important part of speech in Dakota, is conjugated and can have as many as five hundred different forms. Verbs are often compounded together to form one word. There are approximately 16,000 words in the Dakota language.

One of the main difficulties in learning the language is found in the fact that there is no substantive verb and no way of expressing the idea of compulsion or obligation.

The order of words in the Dakota language is exactly the reverse of ours. For instance, the sentence "make a big fire" becomes in Dakota "fire big make". Complex sentences are usually very difficult to translate. Consequently it is not easy to learn to express one's thoughts clearly and intelligibly in Dakota language.

The younger generation of Sioux learn the English language very easily and speak it without a trace of accent. Al-



though their vocabulary is usually not very extensive, they are able to grasp, to a remarkable degree, the principles of English grammar and can express themselves adequately. At present there is a tendency to borrow words from the English language, particularly terms denoting modern objects.<sup>2</sup>

Due to the fact that the Sioux Indians have, to a great extent, kept to themselves and have maintained their own language, their relations with the other Indian tribes have been very limited. The Canadian Sioux visit with one another frequently and even travel long distances to see their friends and relatives in the United States. They marry almost exclusively within the tribe, thus creating the problems incidental to endogamy. Except for the Wood Mountain Indians, who have intermarried to some extent with the Metis of Willow Bunch, there are very few Sioux Halfbreeds in Canada. Thus their individuality has been retained to a high degree.

Along with their language, the Sioux Indians have kept, to a great extent, their institutions. The unwritten Dakota laws concerning the family, courtship, and marriage, care of babies and training of children are still observed. When death approaches Indian doctors are often called to the bedside. After the burial, feasts are still held in honour of the departed. The house in which someone has died is even now, in many cases, torn down or set on fire.

### **Native Beliefs**

In the mind of the pagan Sioux Indians, belief in one Great Spirit, the Wakantanka, also called Father, (Ateyapi), has now replaced the traditional belief in the ancient Dakota gods.

The pagans are fully aware of the existence of a preternatural world of spirits. These are the "Wanagi" (shades). They speak of the "Land of the Spirits", of the "Path of the Spirits" (The Milky Way).

Although the religious rites of the native cult have practically disappeared, the pagan Sioux believe in the efficiency of prayer and have a deep religious sentiment. Nowadays most of them profess to one of the forms of Christianity.

The Sun Dance and other ritual dances are not performed any longer. The picturesque "kahomni" (grass-dance) is the

most popular on occasion of social gatherings. It is usually accompanied by songs and the beating of drums. The Rain Dance, originally a Cree religious rite, has not been adopted by the Sioux; however, many of them are keen on taking part in the Rain Dances held by the Assiniboinés and the Crees on neighbouring reservations.

The old Indian doctors (medicine-men) do not claim any preternatural powers. In their art of healing they make use of the sweat bath, (originally a religious rite), and they prepare their remedies with bark, roots and herbs. In Dakota language they are called: Pejihutawicasta which means literally: Grass-root-man. The word used for the effect produced by medicine is "wapiyapi", (renewal).<sup>3</sup>

#### **Peyote cult**

The "peyote" cult was introduced into two Manitoba reservations by the United States Sioux. Peyote is a powerful drug around which centres a so-called "American Native Religion", a curious admixture of pagan and christian beliefs. The drug is supposed to be endowed with healing powers.

This cult has very few adherents. With the prohibition imposed on the importation of the drug into Canada (1941), it is quite certain that peyotism will not survive.<sup>4</sup>

#### **Games and sports**

The most common game played by the Sioux is a game of chance called "Hampapeconpidan" (hit-the-moccasin). It is of Indian origin. The game consists in hiding little objects under moccasins while the opponents guess under which moccasin each particular object has been hidden. Whilst playing, the Indians often work themselves into a frenzy, to the accompaniment of singing and beating of drums. The game often lasts several days.<sup>5</sup>

The Sioux are very athletic and have adapted themselves very quickly to the white man's games of football, baseball and hockey.

#### **Handicrafts**

Very few articles of native handicraft are produced by the Sioux to-day, but such as are made are excellent in quality.

The making of baskets, mats and beadwork is still practised by the older Indians. The original porcupine quill work has entirely disappeared. Now, the beadwork is scarce, owing to the lack of materials. (Beads were previously imported from Czecho-Slovakia). The Indians have sold long ago whatever articles they had in order to obtain food and clothing during the years of depression.\*

### **Economic conditions**

The Sioux now live, for the most part, in log houses which are generally quite tidy and clean. They dress like their white brothers and sisters.

About one half of the Canadian Sioux are engaged either in farming or cattle-raising. These make a fairly comfortable living and their homes are usually well furnished.

The others subsist on seasonal work performed for their white neighbours. They sell wood and hay. In open season they go out trapping and hunting. Their existence is haphazard as they spend too much of their time, specially in the summer, attending fairs and exhibitions, and visiting neighbouring reserves. Generally speaking their standard of living is not very high.

As soon as the reserves were established, the Indian Department placed farming instructors on them to assist the Sioux in cultivating the land and raising cattle, hogs and poultry. The old, sick and the destitute Indians receive bi-monthly rations of meat, flour and other staple foods from the Government. Blankets and clothing are issued to them twice a year.

A medical clinic is held every week, and free medical supplies are given to them, as well as free hospital treatment.

The Sioux have received their education, without any cost to them, either in day schools on the reserves, or in Indian boarding schools, supported partly by the churches, partly by the Government.

They have been amenable to the missionary efforts to christianize, civilize and make them good citizens.

They have kept their traditional generosity and hospitality to a high degree.

## **Loyalty and gratitude**

There is hardly a country in the world where the aborigines have been treated with more fairness and consideration than in Canada. The Sioux Indians have a deep feeling of loyalty and gratitude to their adopted country. This is one of the most remarkable traits in their character.

It is with a feeling of pride that the people of Western Canada recall the many kindnesses, official and private, that were shown to these bands of refugees who were victimized and harshly treated in their native land.

The Sioux realize that they have no claim whatever to the treaty rights of the original Canadian Indians. The majority of them have the same attitude as the one expressed by the late Chief Adelard Standing-Buffalo, of Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask. Mr. F. H. Abbott, Secretary of the board of Indian Commissioners, (United States), visited these Sioux in 1914. He asked Standing Buffalo if his people would like to return to live in the United States. Standing Buffalo replied:

"No, we have visited our friends and relatives in the United States many times; we would not trade places with them. Our Government treats us right."

Mr. Abbott, remarking that these Sioux Indians received no assistance from the Canadian Government, except the use of small reserves, free education and medical care, says that they "are self-supporting and are counted among the best Indians in Canada."

## **Legal Status in Canada**

The Sioux Indians are considered, for all practical purposes, as Canadians. However as Indians, they are wards of the Government, and have no right to vote. They cannot be enfranchised, as the other Indians, but they are at liberty to leave the reservations and establish themselves wherever they please.

The Order-in-Council authorizing their continuance in Canada under the British flag, (vide supra), was issued at a time when there were no definite regulations concerning the granting of citizenship to immigrants. However the Sioux

refugees were classed as Indians; when they entered Canada they were granted the same privileges as the other Indians who had signed the Treaties, viz., residential schools, exemption from land taxes, free hospitalization, relief, and assistance in the cultivation of their farms. But the Sioux have no treaty rights, since they did not surrender land to the Crown as did the Canadian Indians.

The claims that some Sioux bands in Canada made on the United States Government were never successfully maintained. For it is the contention of the American authorities that no equities in tribal claims or in any tribal property belonging to the United States Sioux can be transferred to those Sioux who left the country. However, Canadian Sioux regularly received inheritances from the estates of close relatives in the United States. For the most part these bequests come from the Sisseton, Devil's Lake and Fort Peck Reservations.

In the last war the Canadian Sioux gave some two thousand dollars to the Red Cross Society. Twenty of their young men enlisted in the Canadian Army, six of whom were killed in action.\*

In the present war they have been very generous to the Red Cross and other War Services; thirty of the young men have enlisted, eighteen of whom are now serving overseas.

The future of the Sioux Indians in Canada holds great promise. Although they number only barely over a thousand souls, they will continue as a distinctive and highly individualized minority among the Indians of the Plains. With a general improvement in economic conditions, the Sioux Indians will undoubtedly increase and prosper.

When Lord Tweedsmuir visited the Qu'Appelle Valley, five years ago, he was met by a delegation of Sioux from Standing Buffalo's band.

An old Indian, proudly wearing a large silver medal of King George Third, his long hair plaited in tresses, approached his Excellency, and said:

"Present our greetings to the Great White Father."

"I shall do that indeed," promised the Governor-General. "Now, is there something you want?"

"Yes, we are poor; our horses died in the winter; we must have horses for our work. I, first cousin of Standing-Buffalo, have been named to ask for this. Will the White Father give us horses?"

His Excellency promised something would be done.

"We came here before the Treaties", continued the aged Sioux, "we do not know whether we are still American or Canadian?" There was anxiety in his voice.

"Why, of course you are Canadians", cheerily returned Lord Tweedsmuir.

"Ah, that is fine! That is fine! exclaimed the Indian, and his bronzed companions nodded in agreement. "And the horses . . . ?"

"That will be attended to", smilingly promised the Governor.

Thus the Sioux refugees are true Canadians; they are protected by the Great Father, and they will live forever in their land of adoption, loyal to their King and to the country where in time of strife and danger they found sanctuary.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bibliography (Newbourne and Burke: Peyote; Petrullo: Peyotism).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stanley, *Birth of Western Canada*, pp. 218 and foll.—Riggs.

<sup>3</sup> See: Dorsey, *Dakota Grammar* (in Contr. to N. Amer. Ethnol., Vol. IX). McGee, *Siouxan Indians*, pp. 168 sq.

The Dakota language has been written by the missionaries. Dakota literature is fairly extensive. A complete dictionary of the language has been compiled by S. R. Riggs (publ. in Contr. to North Amer. Ethnol., Vol. VII, Wash., 1890).

<sup>4</sup> See: Dorsey, (supra cit.) pp. 365 sq., 431 sq., 531 sq.

McGee, (supra cit.) pp. 182 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bibliography (Newbourne and Burke: Peyote, Petrullo, Peyotism). Also: Ind. Affairs Rec. Off. Fol. 600529.

<sup>6</sup> See: McGee, pp. 174 sq.

Dorsey, Contr. to N.A. Ethnol. Vol. IX, pp. 224 sq.

<sup>7</sup> McGee, supra cit. p. 170.

<sup>8</sup> Abbott, Admin. of Ind. Affairs in Canada, p. 22. We can estimate the expenditures made by the Canadian Government on behalf of the Sioux Indians at \$1,300,000 (1862—1942).



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CANADIAN SIOUX  
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